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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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## ALBANIA

### HUNGARIANS LOOK AT CURRENT SITUATION AND PROSPECTS

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 31 Jul 83 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Designating a Successor; Birthday; Fate of the Dollar"]

[Text] There is still time until the middle of October, but in the town of Gjirokaster in southern Albania, great preparations are already being made for the folk festival which will celebrate the 75th birthday of Enver Hoxha. In the memorial museum established at the birthplace of the politician (the beautiful townhouse reflects the above average financial situation of its onetime owner, Hoxha's father), the oil paintings and watercolors of numerous Albanian artists evoke particular stages and landmarks in the life of the first secretary of the Albanian Party. On the road leading to the hilltop museum dedicated to Scanderbeg in the city of Kroia north of Tirana, many pictures and laudatory slogans remind the visitor of the 75 year-old party leader--incidentally, the museum was planned by Enver Hoxha's daughter Pranvera. In any case, the slightly forced comparison between the just 40 year-old first secretarial career of Hoxha and the life of the great revolutionary hero of 500 years ago who liberated his homeland from the Turks can often be found in the press and in speeches.

### Last Year in Pogradec

Fairly often in past years (perhaps most insistently in 1981, a few weeks before Premier Mehmet Shehu's suicide which occurred in unclear circumstances and was officially labeled "unworthy of a communist"), news and speculation continually appear in the foreign press and radio that Enver Hoxha is preparing to depart. Recently, the news was unearthed in reference to a statement made last year to a close circle of a few leading functionaries at his summer home on the shores of Lake Ohrid, in which Enver Hoxha, allegedly heeding his doctors' advice, stated that for health reasons, he must withdraw from public life. But as always for many years, this news was followed by a denial from Tirana. However, those most informed about the Albanian situation state that the departure has already been decided, and the interested party himself has decided on the successor--he will be replaced by Ramiz Alia, the 58 year-old president. (It is said that this is Hoxha's answer to the personal squabbling within the party leadership, which even occurs in the 11-member

Council of Ministers, in which, besides Enver Hoxha, only Ramiz Alia, Premier Adil Carcani, Deputy Chairman Manush Myftiu and Rita Marko, the head of the trade unions, can be counted as members of the "old guard"; the other six members have only been part of the leadership body since 1977.)

The designated successor increasingly makes public appearances while Hoxha is rarely seen. This year, Ramiz Alia gave the speech at the May anniversary in Permet, where in 1943 the first communist-led temporary government was established amidst the partisan fighting; up until now, it was almost always Enver Hoxha who spoke. Ramiz Alia visited the southern part of the country in May and the northern area in June, and made several speeches which contained a good bit more critical comments on the mistakes and blunders of the economic leadership. Ramiz Alia also spoke at length on foreign policy and his suddenly increased importance is manifested by the fact that practically the day after the speeches were made, they were already published in several foreign languages in a brochure adorned with the speaker's photograph by the ATA, the Albanian telegraph office.

Speaking as president and secretary of the Central Committee, Ramiz Alia strongly attacked neighboring Yugoslavia and specifically pointed out that "the chauvinists of Belgrade" oppress not only the Albanians living in the autonomic territory of Kosovo (where the majority of the Albanian nationality constituting 6 percent of Yugoslavia's population lives) and "deny them their mother tongue, history and culture", but "this campaign takes on dangerous proportions, especially in Macedonia". Here, where according to statistical data, the ratio of the Albanian nationality is very small, the speaker said "the Albanians are especially persecuted and terrorized by followers of the great Serbian chauvinism". However, around this time, the Yugoslavian press and several politicians brought attention to the fact that a portion of the Serbs of Kosovo has left or plans to leave, because they are exposed to the almost unbearable oppression of the Albanian nationalists there. In several villages and towns along the border, Ramiz Alia declared that Albania wishes to maintain good neighborly relations with Yugoslavia, but only if "Belgrade puts an end to the oppression in Kosovo". He added that until then, there is no point in even maintaining cultural relations, since these "were arbitrarily broken only by Belgrade and were utilized for the imprisonment of Kosovians on the pretext of irredentism". (On more than one occasion last year at the Albanian university in the Kosovian city of Pristina, the authorities moved against disseminators of writings originating from Tirana and of views advocating secession; many were sentenced to imprisonment on the basis of laws in effect.

#### Debates and a Letter of Rebuttal

In Belgrade, the press immediately responded to the statements of the president from Tirana. The gist of the response was that Albania continually interferes in Yugoslavian internal affairs by supporting the Albanian nationalists of Kosovo, thereby threatening the equilibrium in the Balkans and peace in the peninsula.

With regard to matters of the Balkan peninsula, Premier Adil Carcani responded to this question instead of Ramiz Alia. In May, Greek Prime Minister Papandreou sent a letter to his Albanian colleague, inviting the Albanian government to participate in a conference planned to discuss the establishment of the Balkan nuclear free zone. The response of the Albanian head of state, which was published by Zeri i Popullit, the party newspaper on June 12, pointed out above all else that of the six Balkan

states, two were members of NATO and two of the Warsaw Pact, and another state, "Yugoslavia, is connected to both parties"; Albania is the only state outside the block. According to Carcani, "peace cannot be preserved without taking these realities into consideration; therefore, the conference of the Balkan states would only be delusory and its resolutions would be no more than barren declarations. Thus, it is pointless for Albania to participate in the conference urging the establishment of a zone free of nuclear arms."

It would be appropriate to mention events preceding the refusal of the Albanian head of state. Albania was the only European state not participating in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki in 1975, which closed with such significant results; it was also absent from the conference in Belgrade and that in Madrid which has just ended. Finally, Carcani declared that "meetings and conferences organized for the purpose of solving the various problems of peace and security are totally useless, as proven by the European Security Conference, as a result of which Europe is presently in greater danger than ever before". It is as if this statement of Albanian foreign policy is oblivious to the significantly supportive impact on the issue of detente of the Helsinki Final Document, and to the fact that the majority of the present European concerns stem from the NATO resolution proposed and accepted by the Americans and from the planned deployment of medium-range Pershing missiles and basing of cruise missiles at the end of 1983...

The reservations, indeed, the definite opposition of Albania concerning the Balkan nuclear free zone is striking because this country, isolating itself from everyone (Albania broke with Yugoslavia in 1948, it has not participated in the work of the Warsaw Pact since 1961 and in that of the CECA since 1962, it has confronted the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries by joining the politics of Maoist China, and it has broken with China after the establishment of Chinese-American relations, that is, the death of Mao), has taken many steps in the past few years which have served to promote relations with Athens. In 1971, occasions arose for the signing of several international agreements, air traffic was initiated between Athens and Tirana, Enver Hoxha talked about the equal rights of the Greek minority (approximately 2 1/2 percent of the population) in a speech at Gjirokaster and in 1981, at the 8th Congress of the Albanian Workers Party, he declared that there is "unquestionable friendship" between the two countries. What could have prompted the Albanian Premier to react so negatively to the Athenian invitation and to even the discussion of its fundamental concept, the plan for a Balkan nuclear free zone?

According to the most diverse sources, the answer should obviously be sought within the leadership among the conflicts arising from Enver Hoxha's deteriorating health and also those contradicting foreign policy. Last year, when a succession of personnel changes was announced (when the 58 year-old Ramiz Alia became the chairman of the People's Assembly, that is, president, and his predecessor, Haxhi Lleshi was let go without a single word on the value of his work), they said that in fact, the personnel changes meant "the expedient advancement of the younger cadres", and "those comrades who were not nominated by the party for the chairmanship will still be loved and their work appropriately respected". According to Albanian situation analyses by western newspapers, "love and respect" are not discernible for the time being, and the conflicts within the leadership have not been resolved with the personnel changes occurring at the end of 1982.

## The Future of the Gold

Presently in Albania, one very important question--perhaps the only one on which there is no dispute among the conflicting groups--is the matter of the gold stolen from Tirana at the time of the Italian occupation. (When the Italian fascist troops sacked Albania, they brought the gold worth 36 million dollars to Rome. In 1943, the Germans dragged it out of the Roman bank vault and stored it in a salt mine. Finally, after the defeat of the Nazis, it was taken over by people from the Bank of England, and it is now guarded by an English-American-French supervisory committee. Of the 36 million, which was handled as "Albanian property" for a short time in 1948, an amount of 16 million was allocated to England by the International Court of Justice at the Hague in retribution for the incident at sea in the channel of Corfu in October of 1946: two English destroyers hit an Albanian mine and 44 British sailors were killed. At that time, Tirana called the decision by the Hague illegal, and the gold remained untouched. The USA claims approximately 10 million dollars; this is the amount for which American citizens appraise the value of their onetime nationalized property. This claim is also not acknowledged by Tirana. Finally, the Italians lay claim to the entire sum, saying that the Germans stole it from them...) Last year, it was rumored that in Washington, American, English and French financial experts were working on a plan on the basis of which Tirana could regain the onetime fortune of the Albanian National Bank. Under what conditions this might occur remains undisclosed, for the time being.

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CSO: 2500/418

## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

WOMEN'S DELEGATION IN SRV--On 5 September 1983 Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, received the delegation of the Albanian Women's Union, headed by Lumturi Rexha, president of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union. The delegation is paying a friendly visit to the SRV at the invitation of the Vietnamese Women's Union. Syrja Laze, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the SRV, was also present at the reception, which passed in a very friendly and cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU070651 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 6 Sep 83]

VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR'S PRESS CONFERENCE--On the occasion of the national holiday of the Vietnamese people, Huong Quoc Tinh, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, held a press conference, which was attended by representatives of central press organs, ATA, Radio-Television, and others. The ambassador spoke about the prolonged struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom and independence against U.S. imperialism and other external enemies, as well as about their efforts to heal the wounds of the war and in the country's socialist construction. He also expressed his belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and countries will develop continually to their mutual interest. [Text] [AU281328 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Aug 83 AU]

VIETNAMESE NATIONAL DAY MARKED--On the occasion of Vietnam's National Day, Hoang Tinh, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today organized a film screening in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture in Tirana. The show was attended by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Bardhyl Golemi, deputy minister of education and culture; Pajtim Ajazi, deputy minister of foreign trade; Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Friendly and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and others, including heads and officials of diplomatic missions accredited in Tirana. [Summary] [AU031344 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 1 Sep 83]

SCHOOL POPULATION--The new schoolyear commenced throughout Albania today. Altogether, some 730,000 pupils and students have enrolled in all types of schools. They will be taught by a teaching staff of some 39,000, including 850 professors teaching at Tirana University, which this year will have about 9,000 students. [Summary] [AU031344 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Sep 83]

GENERAL KOSEV SPEAKS AT WRITERS' MEETING ON MILITARY THEMES

Summary of Report on Meeting

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Patriotic military themes have always attracted Bulgarian writers by their heroism and the possibilities for creating multifaceted characters and interesting situations. Man in uniform is the central theme of this literature. Its importance as a factor in the education of soldiers as well is looming ever larger in today's tense international situation.

A recent meeting between the leadership of the Chief Political Administration of the People's Army and the Bulgarian Writers' Union was devoted to the achievements and problems of literature on patriotic military themes. In their addresses, the head of the Chief Political Directorate, Col Gen Kiril Kosev, and the President of the Bulgarian Writers' Union, Lyubomir Levchev, stressed that patriotic military themes represent a major genre of Bulgarian literature, one which instills patriotism and aids in developing the new socialist personality (condensed version of the addresses are given separately).

Calls for Better Literary Works

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Colonel General Kiril Kosev, head of the Chief Political Directorate, Bulgarian People's Army; speech printed in boldface; date not given]

[Text] I should like to say that we have come to this meeting deeply convinced that there has long been a need for a frank discussion of the most important questions of our joint efforts in an area which is of extremely great importance to our socialist Army and literature and to the literature and defense of the country.

Some may ask what connection is there between the Army and literature or literature and the troops, and may add that these are two very different and widely separated areas in the life of society. We believe that not only does such a connection exist, but also that it is an organic and deep connection, for the Bulgarian People's Army and present-day Bulgarian literature serve the



same cause: triumph of our great communist ideal, the development and prosperity of our socialist homeland, growth of the spiritual wealth of the country, and development of the new socialist man as citizen, worker, creator, and defender of the socialist achievements of the people.

I should also like to point out that there is a beautiful and noble old tradition in Bulgarian literature, that is, that some of the most prominent exponents of this literature have written on military themes, on heroic themes; they have written about the Bulgarian Army. Thus we have come to this meeting in the belief that the meeting will enable us to exchange views and to find ways and means of intensifying cooperation between the Ministry of National Defense and the Bulgarian Writers' Union, of familiarizing Bulgarian writers more closely with the life and needs of the troops, and of achieving even more fruitful development of patriotic military literature. This belief is rooted in the good experience gained thus far in our systematic activities, in the deep and lasting tradition in the Bulgarian literature established by the best exponents of this literature, the tradition of always being close to the struggles and aspirations of the people for defense of freedom and independence, a tradition which now as well has its loyal followers among Bulgarian writers.

I want to express our gratitude to all of you, to all Bulgarian writers and creative artists who concern themselves with patriotic military themes and who have shared their time and their talent to give us beautiful works of literature.

I will mention only a few of the initiatives carried out since the signing of the last protocol. Military themes in current literature were discussed at a joint conference. Two combined army conferences have been held with young creative writers in the ranks of the armed services. Each year, during the Ten Days the Bulgarian Writer spends in the Army, a large group of writers participates in numerous meetings and literary readings among the troops. A number of writers serve on the editorial staffs and artistic councils of our military publications and cultural institutions, on the Awards Bestowal Commission of the Ministry of National Defense, on the newspaper Narodna Armiya, on the journal BULGARSKI VOIN, and in a number of other organizations. It is a pleasant duty for me to note that over the last 4 years the Military Publishing Office has published more than 40 books by members of the Bulgarian Writers' Union. Among them we see the names of such esteemed and well-known authors as Venko Markovski, Ivan Arzhentski, Slav Khr. Karaslavov, Vera Mutafchieva, Efrem Karanfilov, Gencho Stoev, Matey Shopkin, Yordan Radichkov, Pavel Vezhinov, Ivan Martinov, Evstati Burnaski, Rangel Ignatov, Orlin Orlinov, Evtim Evtimov, Boris Krumov, Konstantin Kyulyumov, and others.

We are following with great interest and many-sided activities of the Bulgarian Writers' Union for the sake of development of our native literature. We are sincerely delighted with every success of the masters of creative writing and will do everything in our power to encourage your noble efforts to create works worthy of our people and of the times in which we live. At the same time, we constantly strive to disseminate in the ranks of the Army the spiritual values which you have created, to ensure full use of creative literature in education and training work, and to acquaint the troops with the beautiful and lofty world of art.



At your Fourth Writers' Congress you spoke of creating in literature the new, positive hero, the hero as example, who is capable of exerting an influence and of being an inspiration. It is true that good novels, tales, novellas, and verse have appeared in print. This is fine, but it is also true that a clear and powerful image has not yet been created of the new socialist man who is building advanced socialist society, who is realizing his aspirations in life, inspired by his present and moving purposefully toward his future. I cannot fail to note that there are only too few good books written with talent about our present-day armed forces, and yet these forces represent a part of our socialist reality and a vital member of the national organism. An integral part of its people, the Army lives with their aspirations, joys and worries. Its development as well is accompanied by resolution of a number of contradictions and difficulties, by struggle between the old and the new, by the overcoming of certain negative manifestations which are rooted in the action of causes operating outside the Army. Some of the best representatives of our people dedicate their strength and talents to the Army. Can it really be proper for our People's Army, such an important institution of our socialist state, such a particularly important unit of our people, to escape the attention of the creators of our literature? When we speak of and insist upon broader and more talented depiction of the present-day life of our Army, of matters connected with preparation of the people, and young people in particular, for defense of our fatherland and of the achievements of socialism, we do not base ourselves on any departmental interests. In principle, everything connected with defense of the country cannot be assigned to a separate department or ministry. Defense of the country is the mission of the entire people, of our socialist state, of all its citizens. Hence the need for literature and art which inculcate in the people and youth ardent socialist patriotism, a sense of duty and responsibility to the homeland, and readiness for self-sacrifice in the name of our communist ideal is imposed by the supreme interests of our country and nation, and not by whims of the Ministry of National Defense and the Chief Political Directorate of the People's Army.

Our meeting today has the goal of applying past experience to mark out the directions and plan measures for deciding on and intensifying cooperation between the Bulgarian Writers' Union and the Chief Political Directorate of the People's Army with the aim of creating new literary works on patriotic military themes and of intensifying the role of creative literature in the life of the troops.

It is also necessary to overcome the misconception that the presence of regulations and orders in the Army, and the secrecy surrounding many aspects of its training, weapons, and equipment, hamper creative writing and inevitably impose sketchiness and use of cliches in artistic reproduction of military reality. I believe there is no need to prove that Bulgarian citizens, communists and Komsomol members, people having all the distinctive features of the modern socialist personality, also live and work in the Army. Their life and work take place, however, under rather special conditions which not only do not impoverish inherent personality traits, but on the contrary create a richer a more interesting mentality and build stronger and more complex human personalities. The Army pulsates with full-blooded, variegated life. In it writers will find a variety of themes, conflicts, heroes, and human vicissitudes

worthy of their talented pens. All that is needed is for them to immerse themselves in this life and to approach it without fear and without preconceptions.

I am convinced that new ideas and proposals will be advanced, that through our combined efforts we will find the most proper way of bringing about further elevation of the role of creative literature in the spiritual life of the troops, in patriotic military education of youth and the people, so that defense of our socialist republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of the socialism we are building, will be even more dependable.

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CSO: 2200/120

## BRIEFS

KUBADINSKI RETURNS FROM TANZANIA--On 1 September Comrade Pencho Kubadinski returned from Tanzania. As chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Bulgarian-Tanzanian Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, he took part in the sixth session of the committee. [Text] [AU021020 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 1 Sep 83]

LEGAL DELEGATION VISIT--Sofia, 5 Sep (BTA)--The visit of a delegation of the General Prosecutor's Office of Cuba, led by the Prosecutor General of Cuba, Mr Idalberto Ladron de Guevara Quintana, ended here. The delegation was received by Mr Yaroslav Radev, vice-president of the State Council of Bulgaria, Colonel-General Velko Palin, head of the "Military-Administrative" department of the CC of the BCP, and by Ms Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice. The members of the delegation also met the Chief Prosecutor of Bulgaria, Mr Kostadin Lyutov, and the chairman of the Supreme Court, Mr Ivan Velinov. [Excerpt] [AU061305 Sofia BTA in English 1432 GMT 5 Sep 83 AU]

ZHIVKOV VISITS STARA ZAGORA--On 5 September Comrade Todor Zhivkov visited Stara Zagora on the occasion of the commissioning of a new expansion of the Porobotika-Beroe Scientific-Research Economic Combine. Toncho Chakurov, minister of Machine Building and Electronics, spoke at the mass meeting about the great working victory of Stara Zagora citizens. A State Council decree was issued on awarding designers, constructors, fitters, and investors with orders and medals, for their original technical solution and the short construction period. Comrade Todor Zhivkov cut the ribbon and commissioned the new facility. It ensures conditions for expanding the production of industrial robots, and for automation and industrialization of labor. The industrial robots and the automatic production lines created by them, are designed for the needs of the country and for export. [Text] [AU051650 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 5 Sep 83]

TSANOV SPEAKS AT AGRARIAN MEETING--On 5 September a joint meeting of the Agricultural Council of the Council of Ministers and the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the National Agroindustrial Union took place. The meeting was attended by chairmen of the executive committee of the okrug people's councils, secretaries on agrarian matters of the BCP okrug committees, chairmen of the okrug agroindustrial unions, leaders from ministries and departments, and others. Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee

secretary, spoke about the additional measures to be taken to accelerate harvesting and utilize agricultural produce, and the autumn sowing works. It was stressed that in many okrugs the organization which has been created still does not correspond to the requirements for effective and fast harvesting, and high quality autumn sowing. The Agricultural Council and the Executive Committee of the Agroindustrial Union adopted a decision on total mobilization of the working people for timely harvesting and fully utilizing the agrarian produce of the public and private plots. The executive committees of the National Agroindustrial Union and the okrug people's councils must guarantee the self-supply of the conurbation system with basic agrarian products, and to insure the necessary fodder for the cattle. The decision pays special attention to the timely and effective autumn sowing. [Text] [AU052101 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 5 Sep 83]

CSO: 2200/146

HAVEL RELEASED FROM PRISON, DESCRIBES FIRST IMPRESSIONS

Vienna PROFIL in German No 34, 22 Aug 83 pp 32, 34

[Interview with Vaclav Havel by Michael Siegert, correspondent of the Austrian weekly PROFIL: "I Shall Not Emigrate"]

[Text] Question: Mr Havel, you were imprisoned in 1979 because of your views.

Answer: In 1979 I was, together with five friends, sentenced to 4 1/2 years of imprisonment. We were sentenced for our work in VONS (Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted), which documented and published various cases of police and judicial injustice. We maintained at that time, and we maintain so today, that there was nothing criminal in our activity and that the court did not prove any criminality. VONS still exists today and is continuing its work (not all of its members were imprisoned, and others took place of those who were). This activity is very important, because it represents one of the few efforts in our country to subject the work of the security police and justice to free public scrutiny.

Question: You had to work manually in prison. What was your job? Would it have been possible for you to refuse that work?

Answer: I worked as a steelworker, for a time also in the laundry, and in the end again as a worker in the enterprise "Kovosrot," which has its workplaces in many prisons. There are very limited possibilities in prisons to work in administration--but that kind of work is not available to political prisoners. To refuse assigned work--for example for health reasons--means immediate punishment (stay in an isolation ward, etc.). Some prisoners do try to go that route but very seldom do they gain anything. In my case, such refusal would not have had any effect, it would, on the contrary, have made it more difficult for me. Neither did I have enough real reasons for such a course of action; even though it was difficult for me to work that way, as far as health was concerned, I was able to do this type of work.

Question: Were you able to do any writing in your cell?

Answer: To write anything and to own, for example, a writing pad, was, in my case, strictly forbidden. My only "literary" self-expression were letters to my wife. I had permission to write to her once a week under the strict prison

rules. In my letters I tried to deal with various public questions, but it was--at least in the first years in prison--connected with many complications with the prison censorship. Over and over again it was pointed out to me that I should write only about "family matters," and a number of my letters were not mailed. Later this situation got a little better. There exists a four-hundred-page "samizdat" in the Czech language, called "Letters to Olga," which is composed of material from my letters to my wife.

Question: You were released in February because of illness? How do you feel now?

Answer: The sentence was "interrupted" because of pneumonia, which was combined with other complications (pleurisy). As far as that goes, I feel fine; my problems are my elbows (it is called "tennis elbows") and this complication would make it very difficult for me--if not impossible--to do manual work. These complications developed while I worked in the prison's ironworks.

Question: At the beginning the authorities offered you emigration instead of prison. Was this offer repeated?

Answer: Before the trial, while I was in detention, they offered me a research assignment in the United States, which would have, in reality, meant emigration (without doubt I would have been, during this stay in the United States, stripped of my Czechoslovak citizenship, just as was Pavel Kohout. It was no coincidence that this offer was presented to me about a week or two weeks before they made Pavel Kohout's return impossible). I refused this offer for many reasons, out of solidarity with my friends; because when we are certain of our truth, it does not seem to me to be the right thing to do to run away from consequences resulting from the fact that we uphold these truths; also for the simple fact that I do not want to become an emigre. During my stay in prison, it was indicated to me several times that the possibility of emigration is still open--and certainly it exists even today.

Question: Would you want to travel to the West?

Answer: From what has been said up to now it is obvious that I cannot afford even a short trip abroad; such trip would perhaps not be permitted--or if it were permitted, it could be surmised that I would not be allowed to return. And I cannot risk that.

Question: What can you now do in the literary field? Do you have a public?

Answer: Nobody can forbid me to write--I want to write. The only question is, whether I will succeed (it was never easy for me to write). My plays will, naturally, not be produced in the CSSR, but the possibilities for unofficial performances exist, even if they are connected with difficulties, which an Austrian can hardly imagine. My "public" in my country, therefore, consists mainly of the readers of "samizdat."

Question: Some time ago you wrote an essay about two cultures in your country, about the official one and about the "other," the one in opposition. The "opposition" culture is being produced by only a small number of people. Do you think that it can survive?

Answer: The first person, who started to use the term "second culture" was Ivan Jirous. I think that this "other culture"--i.e., the one that has not been permitted, the unofficial one, exists in our country and that it is more widespread now than it was in the 1970's. This culture is, naturally, not limited to persons around Charter 77. There exist many magazines, hundreds of "samizdat" titles, hundreds of pictures which have not been exhibited, dozens of musical groups, that are not permitted to perform publicly. The boundary between the official and unofficial culture is not now so sharp that it cannot be crossed, as it was several years ago. These boundaries are being crossed--and in both directions; however, the frequency is more pronounced in crossings from the official culture into the "other," than the other way around. There exist also many cultural phenomena, about which it is difficult to determine where to place them--whether in the "first culture" or in the "other." They are somewhere in between.

Question: Are you going to be active politically as you were when you were Charter 77 spokesman?

Answer: I have never considered my activities as political in the true sense of the word. It was simply a civic involvement. I have not changed my views and stands during my stay in prison; when the opportunity presents itself, I assist even today with the work of Charter 77; however, in the next few months I would like to concentrate first of all on writing new plays.

Question: Mr Havel, you live in Northern Bohemia, where the devastation of the environment is so great. How do you feel, when you see the Czech forests dying?

Answer: I think that the ecological situation in the CSSR is alarming, the worst problems, of course, exist in Northern Bohemia (the forests in the whole of Krusnihori have been almost completely destroyed). Charter 77 has dealt with this subject in one of its recent documents. Myself, I spend most of my time in my cottage in Podkrkonosi. Even there the situation is getting worse, although it has not as yet reached such catastrophic proportions as it has in Northern Bohemia.

Question: It is often being said that the Peace Movements in the West are in the hands of the Russians and that the Independent Peace Movements in the East are followers of Ronald Reagan. How do you see the future?

Answer: The situation in the countries of the Soviet bloc is radically different from that in the West. That is why I think it is very important for the western Peace Movements to be open to dialogue with the independent citizens initiatives in the East--and vice versa. Charter 77 has already initiated a certain dialogue; we met, for example, with many delegates to the recent Peace Congress in Prague and we have discovered that our stands, motives and aims are in reality more similar than might be apparent to others.

PALESTINE COUNCIL DELEGATION HEAD VIEWS TALKS

AU301208 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 83 p 6

[Report on interview given by Khalid al-Fahum, head of the Palestinian National Council delegation, to Oldrich Pospisil: "Firm Solidarity"; date and place not given]

[Text] The negotiations which we conducted with Comrade Alois Indra, Federal Assembly chairman, as well as with Comrade Josef Kempny, Czech National Council chairman, have proved the concurrence of our opinions, Khalid al-Fahum, head of the Palestinian National Council delegation which was visiting our country a few days ago, stated in his interview for RUDE PRAVO.

The Palestinian representative stated: "We discussed the stands of our two sides on significant political issues, particularly the Palestinian problems and the Middle East in general. We pointed out the fact that U.S. practices in the Middle East clearly contradict the UN conclusions. The PLO must thoroughly prepare itself for a confrontation with the aggressive, expansionist policy of Israel, which is supported by the United States. This imperialist expansion is being carried out by political, military, and economic-financial means, and not only the Palestinians are exposed to it, but also the people of other Arab countries. We stressed that the PLO resolutely rejects the Camp David treaty and the so-called Reagan plan, because they are aimed at liquidating the Palestinian liberation movement. Washington continues to refuse to recognize the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinians; it is denying the Palestinians the natural right of self-determination, including that of setting up their own independent state.

"It is being confirmed that the Arab peace plan which emerged from the Fes meeting, as well as the USSR's initiative and the declaration of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee that was adopted at the committee's January session in Prague, represent the only correct and realistic platform for a peaceful solution in the Middle East, which would be implemented with direct UN participation.

"The Czechoslovak comrades stressed that they consistently support the PLO and all Palestinian people in their persistent effort for realizing just national demands. Our side stressed that the PLO and the people of the Middle East reject the insidious U.S. policy which enhances tension not only in the Middle



East, but also in other areas of Asia and Africa, as well as in Western Europe, where the imperialists are preparing to deploy first-strike nuclear weapons. We are aware that the countries of the socialist community, with the Soviet Union at the head, are the most powerful obstacle to the plans harbored by the disrupters of world peace. Our talks confirmed the firm and lasting nature of the support granted to us by the Czechoslovak people, the CPCZ, the National Front, and Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, personally.

"Cooperation between the CSSR's Federal Assembly and the Palestinian National Council has developed with common stands on the substantial issues of world development, and on the Middle East problems in particular. We coordinate our collaboration at the conferences of the Interparliamentary Union and at other international forums. The all-round cooperation between Czechoslovakia's Parliament and the Palestinian National Council is deepening and expanding," the Palestine representative stated. He continued:

"I am taking with me from your country impressions that are truly beautiful. I could name a number of industrial enterprises and unified cooperative farms which we have visited. And we have convinced ourselves of a real progress. For instance, I would like to point out the impressive upsurge of building production in the capital of Prague. All this has again proved for us the successes that are being achieved by your society. At the same time, the CSSR's powerful advance confirms for us your people's longing for a life in peace, and also the substantiation of the solidarity support that Czechoslovakia is granting to the Palestinians and to other peoples who are fighting for freedom and a life in peace.

"The Palestinian people have at their disposal many qualified, experienced, and highly educated workers among their own ranks. Due to the invasion of the Israeli aggressors, a number of our social, administrative, and management institutions in Beirut have been destroyed. But thanks to the skill and the dynamic and selfless nature of our people, new institutions have already been set up, for instance in Damascus and Tunis. We are consistently learning from the past. We are striving for a higher efficiency in all our activities. The PLO is firmly resolved to accomplish its historic mission. And our unity, which must be achieved and consolidated only in a democratic dialogue, is one of the prerequisites of the final success of this battle," Khalid al-Fahum stressed.

CSO: 2400/435

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

CHNOUPEK-IAEA DIRECTOR GENERAL--Today in Prague Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, received Hans Blix, IAEA Director General who is in Czechoslovakia on an official visit. They discussed further cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the agency and exchanged opinions on current problems of the international situation. [Text] [LD040033 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 2 Sep 83]

HAVLIN AT HIGH POLITICAL SCHOOL--A festive meeting to mark the beginning of the new academic year and the 30th anniversary of the school's foundation was held today at the Bratislava Faculty of the High Political School of the CPCZ Central Committee. The meeting was attended by Josef Havlin, secretary of the Party Central Committee. Ludovit Pezlar, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, gave a speech in which he stressed that the rapid implementation of science and technology was one of the most revolutionary tasks of the present time. He expressed his conviction that the High Political School and its Bratislava faculty would contribute toward elaborating the conclusions of the Party Central Committee's 8th session on this subject. [Excerpts] [LD040033 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Sep 83]

FRENCH CP DELEGATION'S ARRIVAL--A study delegation of the French Communist Party, led by Marc Zmiceai, member of the Party Central Committee and head of the Department of Propaganda and Information Media, arrived in Prague on 29 August. The delegation will acquaint itself in the CSSR with the CPCZ's experience in ideological work. [Summary] [AU011454 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug 83 p 2]

GREGOR ARRIVES IN DAMASCUS--Slovak Deputy Premier Jan Gregor has arrived in Damascus for an official visit to Syria. In Damascus he inspected the Czechoslovak exposition at the 30th International Trade Fair. [Summary] [AU011454 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug 83 p 7]

MALTESE MINISTER DEPARTS--Philip Muscat, minister of education of the Republic of Malta, concluded his visit to the CSSR on Thursday. At the Ruzyne Airport in Prague, he was seen off by Milan Vondruska, minister of education of the Czech Socialist Republic. [Text] [AU031338 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 83 p 2]

FOJTIK ATTENDS SEMINAR--A nationwide seminar of teachers of regional political schools, which was held in Usti nad Labem, was attended by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, who spoke about current problems of ideological work. The seminar was also attended by Vasil Bejda, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, and Vladislav Pravda, secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union. [Text] [AU031338 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 83 p 1]

PALESTINE DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE--A delegation of the Palestine National Council, led by the council's chairman, Khalid al-Fahum, ended its official friendly visit in the CSSR on 28 August and left the country. The delegation was in the CSSR at the invitation of Alois Indra, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 83 p 2 AU]

AID SHIPMENT TO NICARAGUA--To alleviate the consequences of the stepped up aggression against the people of Nicaragua by gangs consisting of former Somoza [National] Guard members and other declassé elements supported by the U.S. Administration and reactionary Central American regimes, the CSSR has granted the Sandinist Government of the Republic of Nicaragua further humanitarian aid. Thereby, it expresses the firm and deep solidarity of the people of Czechoslovakia with the heroic struggle of the people of Nicaragua against the cowardly attacks and intrigues of imperialist forces attempting to bring about a reversal of the progressive developments in the country. Jaromir Johanés, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, was entrusted with handing over the shipment. At the airport in Managua, the shipment was taken over by Daniel Ortega, member of the National Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and coordinator of the Executive Council of the Government of National Reconstruction [title as published], and Henry Ruiz, member of the National Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and minister of planning. Expressing their thanks, they highly appraised the relations of mutual understanding and fraternal cooperation between the two countries and voiced the hope that the relations between liberated Nicaragua and socialist Czechoslovakia will continue to strengthen and develop. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Aug 83 p 2 AU]

HOFFMANN-LED DELEGATION VISITS KYOTO--Japan--The delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions, led by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, which is on a visit to Japan, spent today in the historical city of Kyoto. At a meeting with members of the area committee of the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions, the Czechoslovak guests exchanged with Japanese trade unionists their experiences in trade union work and expressed their joint will to deepen and consolidate the friendship and cooperation between the working people of both countries in the interests of preserving peace and warding off the threat of nuclear war. After the delegation returned to Tokyo, Gustav Smid, the Czechoslovak ambassador to Japan, organized a reception which was also attended by representatives of trade union organizations affiliated with the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions and by other peoples. [Text] [LD090919 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 8 Sep 83]

KEMPNY MEETS AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS--Today Josef Kempny, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Czech National Council, received an Austrian parliamentary delegation led by Anton Benya, chairman of the lower house. He informed the guests about the activity of the CSSR's highest representative body and spoke about the deputies' work with voters. Above all, he singled out the Czech Nation Council's share in implementing the goals for economic and social development in the 7th 5-Year Plan. [Excerpts] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 6 Sep 83 LD]

VISITING PCF DELEGATION--Comrade Jan Fojtik received a study delegation of the French Communist Party [PCF] headed by Marc Zamichli, member of the PCF Central Committee and head of the Department of Propaganda and Mass Media today. In the course of a cordial and comradely conversation, Comrade Fojtik informed the delegation of the PCF about the tasks and problems of the CPCZ's ideological work in fulfilling the conclusion of the 16th Party Congress. [Text] [LD020206 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 1 Sep 83]

CSO: 2400/434

HUNGARY

NEW MTI CORRESPONDENT TO NEW YORK APPOINTED

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 31 Jul 83

[Interview with Elemer Csak, MTI New York correspondent designate, producer of Hungarian Television's political magazine program, 168 HOURS, by Sandor Friederikusz. Date and place not given]

[Text] Recently, a new chief editor was appointed to the helm of 168 HOURS, the popular political magazine of radio. Namely, the current chief editor was appointed MTI correspondent to New York and his place was filled by Akos Mester. In our current issue, Elemer Csak, the previous chief editor talks with Sandor Friederikusz about the responsibilities of the program editor, the importance of maintaining connections, the necessary compromises and the efforts by reporters. In our next issue, we will publish a statement by Akos Mester, the new chief editor.

[Question] You had been chief editor of 168 HOURS for 3 1/2 years when you were appointed New York correspondent of MTI. You were asked to take the job but it is true that you did everything in your power to be selected. Does this mean that the chief editor got tired of the responsibility?

[Answer] In the beginning, the responsibility was very burdensome. Although I always had jobs, for instance in Moscow, which were associated with great responsibility. The responsibility of the chief editor of 168 HOURS was different, more burdensome. A great deal of concern was precipitated every week on me personally, and this had to be gotten used to....By the way, it was a very strange discovery for me that I learned to truly love this program after it became final that I will be going to New York.

[Question] Just like the end of a love story! At the farewell, the departing hero's heart is filled with a tinge of warmth.

[Answer] However, this was no love. And at the time, I did not come home from Moscow to become the chief editor of 168 HOURS. It was accidental that my predecessor just left and someone was urgently needed at the helm of the program. I must admit that I accepted and managed it with great anxiety.

[Question] Although you did not have much reason for it. You were rarely bothered by the bosses of those expressing their views. Moreover, you succeeded in also having 168 HOURS acknowledged by the leading political circles. Of course, the method was very helpful whereby, after completing certain rather jolting topics but before putting them on the program, you sought the opinion of the leaders within the ministry or institution involved. Did you do this for your own safety or because you are so conscientious?

[Answer] Well, part of the statement is true but I reject the other part! I wanted to run 168 HOURS in such a manner that it should always correspond with the interests of the largest community. Therefore, when those interests clashed, I always tried to keep in view the main interests of society and decided on that basis. But I stress, it was I who decided. And I did not reconcile with higher circles but only within myself, with my own conscience and common sense.

[Question] Then I must have watched your method incorrectly...

[Answer] At times it did indeed happen that, if the interests of the matter definitely demanded it, I tried to be circumspect, and I do not consider this condemnable. This also meant in some cases that I looked around and asked some authority. Otherwise, perhaps also as a result of this, I succeeded in reinforcing the public image of the program. Namely, it always was my goal not to let self-serving pseudo-sensationalism get into 168 HOURS. And I also wanted to have the material express what progress was made in the given topic.

[Question] In your opinion, is this the program that you took over in 1979?

[Answer] No, no.

[Question] How much of its critical edge did 168 HOURS lose during your time?

[Answer] This is not for me to judge. I know that, when I stepped to the helm of the program, the notion was spread that Csak is coming in order to blunt 168 HOURS. I objected then and I also object now to dividing the history of the program into epochs the more so because I tried to attach myself to the professional standard represented by Pal Ipper. With respect to the critical tone, I do not believe that criticism is the exclusive goal of the program. In my opinion, no program can be above society, or the chief authority which always knows the supreme truth and, therefore, always judges and criticizes. I know that in Hungary it is very rewarding today to expose something. For instance, to expose how bad the hospital conditions are. But it is also very irresponsible to merely incite the audience. If 168 HOURS cannot say more than that, then it has no purpose.

[Question] Why? You expected the reporters to provide the solution as well? Certain people in certain offices are paid for this. This is not the task of the radio program even if it is customary to demand such things from the press.

[Answer] Yes, but if one is clear about the current situation of the country, if one is capable of thinking in the dimensions of society as a whole, one

discovers that there is not enough money even for such important matters as the health issue mentioned. At such a time, 168 HOURS must call the attention of the society to a better use of the available resources instead of wasting them.

[Question] Thus, you proved to be a reliable person, thinking in the dimensions of the society as a whole, at the helm of 168 HOURS. Why are they sending you to the U.S.A.? Is this a reward trip?

[Answer] Don't forget that I was already tried once as a correspondent, namely in Moscow, and perhaps I was found not to be a light weight. Someone who had gained experiences in the Soviet capital for 6 years, has collected capital which can also be profitable elsewhere. It is probably not accidental that Istvan Kulcsar was also sent to New York after Moscow. Perhaps a news correspondent who already is acquainted with one large power from within can better observe the world.

[Question] After Moscow and before the U.S.A, are you changing glasses?

[Answer] The answer is a definite no. One's view of the world does not change by going to another station. If it would change nevertheless, this would be a serious error.

[Question] Now, as you have closed a period in your activity with the radio, perhaps you have given some thought on what would count as your definite, positive contribution, should the history of 168 HOURS be written at some time.

[Answer] Such a question can be answered either by silence or with a great lack of modesty. Well, if I can believe those indications which reached me, my name would be coupled with attributes such as circumspect, deliberate, balanced, responsible....I should simply say that I tried.

9201

CSO: 2500/418

TV DOCUMENTARY ON EMIGRE MINISTERS AIRED

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 3 Jul 83 p 31

[Article by Istvan Tamas: "Hungarian Reverends Abroad"]

[Text] A priest ministering in a Austrian refugee camp says that the situation of the Church here [in Hungary] is sorrowful. An American Jesuit, who visits home every year, says that he sees the situation and interrelationships of the Hungarian state, the priesthood and the believers as balanced and satisfactory. A learned Benedictine monk living in Italy speaks about Hungary with fine reserve, but noticeable understanding and good will, for "whatever certain emigres say, the homeland is there." Many other priests spoke also on this program, "Which Way Is the Candle Flame Bending?", but I think these three arbitrarily chosen opinions illustrate approximately what the Hungarian priesthood living abroad thinks about today's Hungarian church and today's Hungarian homeland.

The foreign Hungarian priesthood--not including the staunch anti-Hungary "hawks" of the political emigration, who however by the laws of nature constantly eclipse the others, has a very large influence on its community. Their work, which determines their behavior and thinking, is not irrelevant to us, because the thinking, situation and fate of the Hungarian emigration are not irrelevant. Geographical distances cannot be overcome. Spiritual and intellectual ones can be shortened.

It is my conviction that Dezso Radvanyi and Sandor Kigyos's documentary could not have come into being without the pioneering television activity of Laszlo Robert, the series "The Reverends," on which they collected more than once. Perhaps one should not drag in something that does not belong, but yet: Laszlo Robert's reporter-interviewer style was painfully missing. I don't know who was asking the questions in this film, but the person was very often offended--in the name of Hungarian Television. Consequently, some of those he wanted to interview would not open themselves up. For example, why should one expect that Hungarian Saint Stephen House in Rome should open its gates to the Budapest television staff if they don't want to? If they don't, they don't. There can be a thousand reasons for that; including the fact that they don't like to receive any television people. In such a case the best attitude is to move on, without the emotions expressed in the text.



In spite of this it was a good documentary. A faithful cross-section of the Hungarian emigre ministers, and through them of their community. A few churches are just a tiny speck of Hungary in the ocean of foreign languages. Hungarian words, Hungarian history, Hungarian homeland. The present nation cannot be excluded from them either. Hands extend toward them from here at home, and the more thoughtful members of the priesthood accept them gladly. And so do the believers. We have been able to observe this often before.

This program was not an "opening." It was a "continuation." In recent years television has become a sensitive observer of the Hungarian emigration--and of the homeland as well.

9611

CSO: 2500/375

JOINT HUNGARIAN-ROMAINIAN TV CHRONICLE ON TRANSYLVANIA REVIEWED

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 3 Jul 83 p 31

[Article by Istvan Tamas: "The Transylvanian Alma Mater"]

[Text] Another historical Hungarian school, another joint Romanian-Hungarian television film, and another cooperative effort by Andras Suto. The Bethlen College in Nagyenyed. After the preceding events at Gyulafehervar. In the region conquered by the Turks, war and tribulations have destroyed the alma mater, but it has arisen from its ashes and dust. Andras Suto's television essay explaining in a few sentences that he found a salve to heal the wounds of old Transylvania because he understood its spirit, its history, its geographical and political character. This salve was tolerance and respect and understanding of one people for the other. Suto said this more beautifully and more effectively than I have done in writing after him here. The introduction on television is more effective because it is more intense.

The title of the program was "Will You Still Say it?"

A little boy pulls the rope of the old bell. The bell says the same thing to him as it did to his father, to his father's father, and to the vast multitude of the generations that preceded him. Hundreds and hundreds of them became brilliant spirits of the Hungarian people. Giants like Apaczai, like the Bolyais, or less famous ones who radiated the spirit of humanism in a smaller circle.

The program's sub-title read: "Chapters from the history of the Bethlen College," that is, just a few important periods, a few great persons. Many nice things about the environment, the tangible memories, as for example the bell or the benches on which students of the college still sat at the turn of the century. But there are many more intangible memories, the intellectual, that cannot be grasped with the hand. Andras Suto's narration was able to touch these; approaching the spirit and the intellect. In a rich, flexible poetic prose, with a refined presentation, resounding most beautifully. Words obey Suto.

I don't know if the many costumes were necessary. Perhaps evoking [scenes] through masquerade would become unavoidable, because in this way many scenes became illustrations. This external period-faithfulness cannot be called a defect, but in this case, especially with Andras Suto's words, it would have been more important to go into detail.

Very beautiful musical interludes, instrumental and choral, were played. They evoked the time and the world.

MINORITY NATIONALITY SITUATION, HISTORY, ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

Bridges to Neighboring Countries

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Aug 83 p 7

[Article by Imre Szenes: "Bridges to Our Neighbors; Representatives of Nationality Rights"]

[Text] "Our family has a curious language problem," an acquaintance of mine who is of German descent told me recently. "As a technician in a large plant I have been living in Pest for a long time. At work and at home as well I speak only Hungarian. But my parents who live in the Pest area still speak the old German dialect, which I and my German wife understand, but we can speak with my parents only with an admixture of Hungarian. In the years following the liberation we did not use our language much. In recent decades the judgment about Hungarian Germans has changed. I enrolled my children in a German-language school section where they teach literary German. For this reason the grandmother and the grandchildren themselves complain that it is indeed difficult for them to understand one another..."

Minority with Various Dialects

The other day I related this story to two minority representatives in Parliament, whom I asked: How did they expect nationality rights in our country to develop? Antal Reger, representative from Szentendre--deputy chief editor of foreign radio broadcasts and vice president of the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Germans--replied:

"Your acquaintance's story is rather typical, particularly among German families of large cities with Hungarian environment. In our country there are about 220,000 German-speaking citizens living in 400 villages and cities. And where they live in larger communities like the old German villages, they speak that German dialect in the family which developed in their area, for there are different ones even among the Germans of this country."

"The situation is similar among the 90,000 to 95,000 Slovak nationality citizens," said Mrs Bela Divaldi, a representative from the Vac District, technician at the Botanical Research Institute at Vacratot and a committee member of the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Slovaks. "Our nationality also speaks its native language primarily in the family. Urbanization and migration to the cities has started sub-classes of every nationality in the world on the road to natural assimilation."

The essence and conscious effort of Hungary's nationality policy is to help in a manifold way our national minorities to preserve their native language and culture as long as possible. For this is not only in the characteristic interest of the nationalities but is also in the general social interest of the Hungarian people. History has shown many times that the national minorities are capable of adjusting democratically and harmoniously into the society of a nation only on the basis of full civil equality and linguistic and cultural freedom.

It is no accident that both of the representatives referred to paragraph 61 of our Constitution which expressly fixes the individual and collective rights of the nationalities. These rights--including especially the official use of the native language and the possibility and development of schooling--are guarded both by our state and the interest-representation federations. The key nationality question is language use and instruction in the native tongue.

Of course, the realization of nationality rights depends not only on the possibilities provided by the state but also on how much those concerned are interested in these rights.

"It is up to the minority nationality families," added Antal Reger, "to use the native language not only at home but also in the community. "And it is also up to them to enroll their children in the minority nationality schools or in the native language sections of mixed schools."

For the Future Intelligentsia

The most encouraging results of our country's policy is to be measured in the schooling of minority nationality children. Formerly only the native language was taught, but this was not the language of instruction, or still is not everywhere. There are two reasons for this: there was no demand for it because the parents through their children's future would be more safely realized if they learned in Hungarian pertinent matters outside their native language. For this reason only a few teachers were trained in the minority nationality language. Since last year we have started the building up of the bilingual public school network where the specialized subjects are taught in the native language beginning with the lowest grade, but the concepts are also learned in Hungarian.

In the Slovak areas five district public schools are operating where beginning with the lowest grade all instruction is in the native language except for Hungarian language and literature.

Three German and two Slovak college-type secondary schools serve to instruct the youth of the two minority nationalities and their future intelligentsia at an adequate level in the native languages. The teachers that are necessary for these schools are young minority nationality men and women who have studied in part at Hungarian secondary schools and in part at secondary schools--on a scholarship basis--in the GDR and Slovakia. Through them we may restore the necessary natural conditions for the use of the native languages.

It has long been a natural part of the realization of minority nationality rights that where justified by the population composition the nationalities should have an appropriately proportionate number of representatives in the local council leadership, and in accordance with their requirements matters should also be discussed in their native language.

Antal Reger also stated that in addition to their federation press for several decades the Pecs radio has broadcast daily programs in the German language. Five years ago Pecs also started weekly half-hour television programs. Today there is a German-language literary life in Hungary with publications by the authors in their native language.

#### Intellectual Exchange of Values

Mrs Bela Divaldi paints a similar picture of the life in Hungary among the Slovaks. The picture is rounded out by the fact that one of the Slovak population areas borders on Slovakia. Here not only economic trade has developed but also the exchange of cultural groups.

"The year-end nationality congresses will give a comprehensive evaluation of the conditions for further development," stated Antal Reger. "This much, however, is certain: it would be sheer banality to discuss the quality of rights for minority nationalities living here. Rather we are urging that the nationalities make better use of our existing rights and the possibilities for preserving our native language and our culture."

"I can also say the same thing," continued Mrs Bela Divaldi. "Fortunately, however, for us the proper realization of a nationality policy is already an overall social cause. Proof of this is the strong initiative and incentive provided by the People's Front. Development is also indicated by the fact that as far as I am aware no one has turned to us, the representatives of the nationality parliaments, with any kind of direct nationality grievance or complaint. If there were any such, they would certainly come to us first of all. Therefore, we can rightfully say that the nationalities form one of the most vital connecting bridges with the neighboring friendly states."

#### History of Nationality Associations

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Aug 83 p 8

[Article by Miklos Zelei: "The Establishment of Nationality Associations Before the New Constitution"]

[Text] Our nationality federations in Hungary will hold their congresses in autumn. Prior to this occasion it might be worth while to recall the post World War II times when the nationality federations--Southern Slav, German, Romanian and Slovak--were formed.

According to Laszlo Kovago, the Hungarian nationalities, the "minority groups," are a few nationality groups living in scattered settlements, whom ethnic ties of descent link to nations living in other countries. They came into the territory of Hungary centuries ago, after the formation of the state,

generally as voluntary immigrants at a time when they did not have developed nations...(Here let us mention that the links of the language-nation with its literary life was often very loose: these preserved with surprising wholeness centuries-old traditions, including those which had already died out of the language-nation.)"

We had to present this much foreground even if only in large outline in order that we might approach the extremely interesting period after World War II with its many lessons.

Period? In respect to the organization of nationality federations, this is not the most appropriate word. Era would perhaps be more accurate, for the Southern Slav Federation which was established in 1945 developed into an important organization by 1948, the year of the turning point. The Slovak and Romanian federations, on the other hand, were formed only after the year of the turning point in 1949. And where were the Germans at this time? Only in 1950 at Elek in Bekes megye was the first German cultural group formed, and somewhat later the second one at Gyula. And the Cultural Federation of Hungarian German Workers was formed in October 1955. That is, there is a decade between the formation of the Southern Slav and the German federations.

Why? After World War II the Germans in Hungary were in an extremely stressful position--the historical facts are by and large pretty well known. From villages disrupted by removal and resettlement the Hungarian Germans streamed to the industrial centers, mines and state farms. Those who escaped the removal actions also sought work opportunities in these places. The organizational work which groped for a beginning had to overcome two kinds of retrograde forces. After the war the German language did not sound democratic--at times it also called for the "proper reaction." For this reason the Germans did not speak their language. They did not dare. Thus they not only lacked cultural starts but did not even use their native language. This lasted until 1949 when the new constitution appeared. This constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic proclaimed equality of rights for the nationalities. From this time on German cultural groups, dancers, began to travel about the country to show the Hungarian Germans that in Hungary one may speak and sing in German, and that German culture can be cultivated in the native German language. This had to be shown not only to the Germans, but sometimes also to others. In July 1954 a German language newspaper appeared and in the following year--first as a cultural federation!--a social organization of Hungarian Germans was formed which in 1958 was transformed into a democratic federation.

The situation of the Southern Slavs--Serbs, Croats and Slovenes--differed considerably. As the front passed, democratic, antifascist popular movements were started in the liberated areas, including those of the Slav nationalities. In his book FROM OUR PAST, Lasztity S. Lyubomir wrote: "...the Antifascist Front of the Hungarian Slovaks grew out of the Hungarian popular movement.... The antifascist Slavs of Hungary (Croats, Serbs, Slovaks and Slovenes) created the Antifascist Front of Hungarian Slavs as a unified national organization, the constituent assembly of which was held 18 February 1945 in Battonya." Local organizations of the Front were then formed in Bekes and

Csongrad, and on 2 April the Slav Cultural Association of Bacska-Baranya was formed at Mohacs, which united with the Front in the summer. By then village organizations of the Front were also being formed in Pest megye, and in August the first area secretariat was formed at Pecs. The Southern Slav section of the Front held its first national conference in Mohacs on 3 December. In respect to continuity, the Democratic Federation of Southern Slavs regards itself as having existed since 1945.

With the title of SLOBODA the Antifascist Front of Hungarian Slavs published a weekly newspaper jointly with the Slovaks. The first was only a Serb-Croat newspaper NOVI SVET, which had a short life. Soon thereafter the first issue of NASE NOVINE appeared, and meanwhile there were also other changes: "The second national conference was held 5-6 October in Bacsalmás. At that time they changed the name of the "Antifascist Front of Hungarian Slavs" to the "Democratic Federation of Hungarian Southern Slavs"...," wrote Lasztity S. Lyubomir in his above-quoted work. The school-building cultural organization work of the federation was interrupted and prevented for a short time after the announcement of the Information Office, the deterioration of Hungarian-Yugoslav relations and the breaking of laws. The anti-Tito--or anti-Yugoslav--policy of the time used the Hungarian Southern Slav minorities also for propaganda purposes. From many points of view the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Romanians had the smoothest course. The organization started in Gyula directly after the liberation first with a cultural federation from which was developed the democratic federation with its greater political importance.

The Slovak federations which were also being organized in the provinces had to struggle with the consequences of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak population exchange agreement signed on 27 February 1946. Seventy-three thousand Slovaks, or those who declared themselves as such, were voluntarily resettled from the country. At this time the Hungarian Slovaks lost their intellectual class. (For a long time this limited the possibilities for the cultural life of our Slovak population. The Vyhonky (Sprouts) anthology which 5 years earlier introduced the writings of young Hungarian Slovak writers and poets was essentially not succeeded by any high-level literary work from the pen of a Hungarian Slovak author.)

We should not at all believe that all the Slovaks in Hungary agreed with the population exchange. In the spring of 1946 they held a large friendship meeting in Bekescsaba, and took a position against the resettlement or the relocation of the Slovaks. A role was played by this patriotic work in the fact that while two-thirds of the Slovaks applied for resettlement, in the end only one-third were resettled. The population exchange movement started to wane by the end of 1948, and as the clamor subsided those who remained behind could finally think about how they should organize their collective life. The Democratic Federation of Hungarian Slovaks held their constituent delegate assembly in 1948, and on 27 January 1949 the minister of interior approved the basic constitution. I quote from this the following in order to widen the perspectives of my short article: "The goal of the Federation is to organize the Slovak nationality masses in Hungary, to protect their rights as guaranteed by democracy, to join the general anti-imperialist and democratic movements, and to help with deeds the Hungarian democratic forces."

In essence this idea has not changed since then. The same ideas are conceived in the constitutions of the other three nationality federations. It is in this spirit that the Hungarian nationalities are preparing for this year's congress, to render an account of their work thus far, to define their new tasks, to protect and develop the native languages and cultures of Hungarian citizens of different nationalities and native languages, to encourage their progressive traditions or their interest in becoming familiar with the continuously developing technical and natural scientific culture in their native language.

6691

CSO: 2500/428



OPALKO ON PARTY, PROBLEMS WITH REFORM

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 5-7 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview with Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Politburo of [PZPR] Central Committee and first secretary of PZPR Provincial Committee in Tarnow, by Zbigniew Zdrojewski: "What Era Does Not Change Dies"]

[Text] [Question] Let us begin our conversation in an atypical fashion. For 20 years you were the manager of the Tarnow Nitrogen Works, the largest industrial plant in the province. That was long before you assumed the duties of first secretary and before a plenum of the Central Committee elected you a member of the Politburo. Does the fact that you come from this locality, and that you know even the smallest plant here like the palm of your hand, interfere with your general concept of the entirety of our country's social and political life?

[Answer] Nothing of the kind. People [here] know me, and I know their problems from the inside. I know where this province's weak points are located, but I also know its strong points. This information helps greatly in understanding our region, which is half-industrial and half-agricultural; and, indeed, there are many more such regions in our country.

[Question] Everybody knows that Tarnow Province is leading in production results as compared with the national average. If we assume last year's production figures to be 100, then this year the national average, e.g., in production sold, is 108, while it is 116 in your province, and, with nearly unchanged average in employment, you have been able to maintain relatively high average wages. And you have had truly sensational results in housing construction which is indeed, generally "down" in our country. What is the secret of your region's vigorous recovery from the crisis?

[Answer] Briefly, the secret is the people. We have, generally speaking, active managers, competent directors, and energetic secretaries. They are able to direct people so that work "comes out" and there are no unnecessary stoppages and irritating periods of waiting for parts or raw materials, and so that there is no disorganization. I am pleased to be able to say that our leadership cadre is not only familiar with the economic reform but is actually

implementing it. Also, we have availed ourselves, to a considerable extent, of the army's help.

[Question] Speaking about the reform, an almost universal opinion is that both the supporters and the opponents of the reform start all their unofficial and official pronouncements by speaking about it. Simply, it has now become fashionable--there is no point in concealing the fact--to often prattle about the reform.

[Answer] In order to assess the reform, and to speak about it, one has to have a feeling for it. Obviously, not everybody believes in the reform; if everybody did, it would be an ideal situation, which seldom happens in real life. But I am a person with many years' experience, who has had close connections with industry for more than a score of years; and, if somebody says to me that he does not like something, I immediately ask what he does not like. I ask him to give me some examples. Indeed, in the Office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and in the Central Committee there are commissions on economic reform which study each new proposal carefully; and, if it is a specific one, the Council of Ministers or the Sejm makes appropriate corrections. Indeed, the reform is not a solidified, sealed package of laws but [rather] a young and living idea to which every thinking person can contribute his own ideas.

Personally, more than of enemies of the reform I would be afraid of its fervent supporters, I would not even hesitate to call them fanatics, who uncritically believe that everything will return to normal, as if upon the wave of a magic wand, when the reform has been implemented.

And, as far as knowledge of the reform is concerned, I do not believe that everybody has to have a thorough knowledge of all of its ramifications and complexities. Not everybody needs all this knowledge. True supporters and practical implementers of the reform are--in my opinion--first of all, managers. Many of them admit openly that they are breathing easier. They are no longer restrained by a straitjacket of prohibitions, commands, and guidelines. If they have profits, they should divide them fairly, using some of them for wage increases in production figures and decreases in production costs, as well as from increased productivity--and not from manipulations of fictitious prices.

[Question] But managers, and not only they, often complain about an unstable price policy and about the Professional Activization Fund [FAZ] which shaves their profits "to a zero."

[Answer] Those who complain are people who cannot reconcile at least two indicators--an increase in production and productivity on the one hand, and an increase in average wages on the other. If wages in some plants are increased by 30 percent, while productivity increases barely 10 percent, how, may I ask, are we going to recover from inflation? And now let us imagine what would happen if we made such a manager the general manager of some capitalist enterprise. Indeed, by his actions he would shortly drive such an enterprise into bankruptcy. Would its owner continue to employ such a person? Would he compensate the enterprise out of his own pocket for such a person's incompetence?

In our country, where we have social ownership of means of production, government funds are used to pay for some industrial managers' incompetence. But our government, indeed, has no revolving fund; we ourselves create the budget--and it is we who pay for managers' unsuccessful actions. After all, no tax system is perfect. Its existing deficiencies ought to be corrected.

[Question] However, the command-distribution system continues to exist, which is reflected in, among other things, the distribution of difficult-to-obtain raw materials and, as many rightly assert, is not in conformity with the spirit of the reform.

[Answer] And are government [production] orders in conformity with its spirit? They are not. But such statements can be made only by theoreticians, who have no contact with real life. Indeed, we are implementing the reform in a period which is a very difficult one for our country; and, as is the case with all other areas of our life, the reform also must go through a certain temporary stage. Indeed, even today there is clear evidence of fewer raw materials being included in the central distribution system than was the case last year. This is a necessary evil, but we will surely terminate it as we recover gradually from our economic crisis. And government orders are indeed none other than, in the first place, an assurance of supplying the [domestic] market with much-needed but still scarce articles. We will be able to terminate them only when all the needs have been met. But does this temporary retention of these or other outdated mechanisms mean that we are departing from the principles of the reform?

[Answer] However, opponents of the reform assert that its end will be similar to that of once notorious Large Economic Organizations [WOG].

[Answer] I myself was an enthusiastic supporter of Large Economic Organizations. But precisely the WOG experiment was not completed. The authorities became alarmed by disproportions in wages and, at the same time, being fearful of openly eliminating this organization, they kept issuing numerous regulations which hampered economic growth. Everybody thought that Large Economic Organizations still existed, but these were but appearances--solely economic commands were operative, and therein consisted the greatest paradox of our times. However, today there is no evidence of any attempt to slow down the execution of the economic reform. Quite the opposite is true. Indeed, even the smallest amendment [to a law] is minutely scrutinized by representatives who debate it in their commissions; and the SCJM either approves or does not approve their proposals, by a simple majority.

[Question] In your opinion, to what extent is the party becoming a promotion lobby for the reform?

[Answer] The success of the reform in our country is assured by the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, which, indeed, was so different from [all] the previous [party congresses]. The resolutions of that congress clearly indicated that we should abandon a system of management and administration which had failed the test so many times in our postwar history. The command distribution system was precisely the cause of failures, and the 1970's

were the most recent period of learning in this respect. Thus, our concern was to introduce a reform which would effectively protect the interests of our state and hence of our citizens, so that it would encourage initiative, and working people would benefit directly from it.

Our party, as is sometimes grandiloquently stated, took the reform onto its banners; this, however, does not at all mean that the party has usurped the role of the reform's inspirer. For this reason, it is also not possible to assess the reform only on the criterion of party members' preparation for it; this would be a misunderstanding. Indeed, the reform is a struggle for a change in people's way of thinking--a change which also includes party ranks.

[Question] Introduction of such far-reaching changes has coincided with weakening of many party echelons....

[Answer] I would not define it in such a uniform manner. Actually, we can speak about a decrease in party membership but, at the same time, I think that we have lost less valuable people. In conclusion, the best proof that our society is not against us is furnished by the progressive and clearly perceptible stabilization in our country. I do not say this in order to appease myself. In the final analysis, we clearly realize that the enormous bulk of our people still does not support us. I would call the present period a period of waiting. But should this really surprise us? During those several decades we ourselves repeated the same mistakes and we ourselves talked about them. But it is also necessary to say openly that not everybody in the party liked the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. Some were saying that liberalization had progressed too far and that people had already been given too much democracy.

And yet, the party leadership, the Politburo, took a uniform stand and--what is most important--a unanimous one: there cannot and will not be any deviations from the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress!

After all, one can also reason in the same manner as do opponents of the line of the Ninth Congress; but the party will not be of any importance if it does not win our society over and continues to be an isolated organization which has no relation to life. But, having won the people over to its ideas, the party, together with the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD], will successfully implement tasks which confront our nation and our socialist state.

This is the truth. If we want to lead, we must do away with routine procedures and with old ingrained habits. For this reason I do not agree with those who criticize amendments to laws concerning enterprises, self-government, and unions. Anything that does not change and does not adapt to the needs of the time, dies.

[Question] We are in Tarnow, and it was indeed here, not so long ago, that "the Bednarczyk Case" gained wide publicity. There are some people who assert that their faith in the reform died as a result of the Bednarczyk Affair....

[Answer] The Bednarczyk Affair is but one case. In our country, there are many more iron and steel works that resemble Laura Iron and Steel Works. Indeed, we are talking about exceptions; we are concerned a universal, proper concept of fairness. Recently, I have read in a newspaper that the average wage in cooperative enterprises in the neighboring Krakow Province is between 20,000 and 22,000 zlotys while it is only 17,000 zlotys in the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant. Does the average wage in the Lenin Works have to be lower than in the Laura Works, and is this morally defensible from the viewpoint of social justice? Does the reform have to have less effect precisely in large industrial plants? And this is also our task: to safeguard this fairness, so that everybody may have an equal chance. Because what answer can I give a skilled and experienced worker in a large plant, whom the plant manager cannot really pay more than 12,000 zlotys, when he asks me how this relates to the socialist principle of fairness?

[Question] And now, speaking about more personal matters: What made you happiest during those long years of your work?

[Answer] Perhaps this will sound unconvincing, but I have the most pleasant memory of an 80-year-old [former] teacher of mine, whom I once happened to meet in the street when I was still the manager of the Tarnow Nitrogen Plant. She confided in me that she was living in a tiny room in an attic and that it was very hard for her to carry coal upstairs from the basement. Then I got that woman an apartment in a newly-constructed apartment building which belonged to our plant. Even when she already held the apartment keys in her hand, she could not believe that the apartment was here.... Later she came to visit me and brought me an enormous bouquet of flowers. And I felt sorry that we had been able to do so little for her and so late....

9577

CSO: 2600/1200

MILITIA OFFICIAL SPEAKS ON MEASURES AGAINST SOCIAL ILLS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview with Col Kazimierz Otlowski, director of the Investigation Office of the Citizens Militia Head Command, by Wlodzimierz Syzdek: "We Are Keen About Collaboration"]

[Text] [Question] Colonel, the militia comes in its everyday work upon various symptoms within the scope of social pathology. Which of them are the most dangerous at present to the order and security in the country?

[Answer] Certainly alcoholism has the broadest social range and, at the same time, has a typically crime-generating character. From the statistical data of Citizens Militia Head Command it results that people under influence of alcohol make up 25 percent of those suspected of committing crimes. In the group of homicides the number rises to 75 percent. It has to be stressed that those under influence of alcohol are especially dangerous. They act in a determined and brutal way. Alcohol is also a victim-generating factor, i.e. contributes to the commission of crimes., e.g. the perpetrators of thefts select bluntly their victims among tipsy people. These people sometimes encourage the realization of a criminal aim by their behavior.

The second dangerous occurrence is drug abuse. In relation with the use of drugs such crimes are committed as break-ins into pharmacies and clinics, forgeries of prescriptions, illegal production of drugs. The continuously increasing demoralization of juveniles is also alarming. Many perpetrators of dangerous crimes originate in this milieu.

A great threat to the order and security is caused by a numerous group of people leading parasitic lives. They are, in many cases, former criminals still looking for a possibility to live easily. It is worth saying that there exists a feedback between these social ills. Alcoholism stimulates, to a determined degree, the demoralization of juveniles. Similar relations occur between the demoralization of juveniles and drug abuse.

[Question] What are the sources of these problems?

[Answer] Many of them have their background in determined social habits and customs, e.g. of drinking alcohol at any occasion. But the fundamental reason

is the long-noticed drop in the importance of educational and upbringing functions of the family, as well as the diminishing of the authority of organizations dealing with the formation of social attitudes, organizing free-time activities and dealing with social rehabilitation.

[Question] Sejm passed this year bills "On education in sobriety and counter-acting alcohol abuse," "On procedure in cases against juveniles," "On procedure against people declining to work." How much will they contribute, according to your opinion, to a reduction of the social pathology ills?

[Answer] Because these legal regulations are in force just for a short period, it is difficult to estimate the way of their functioning and their efficiency. But even today we can state that the new regulations create real chances for a gradual reduction of alcoholism and demoralization of juveniles as well as for the elimination of parasitism.

An unquestionable value of the new anti-alcoholic bill is the possibility to enforce it in a consistent way, under the menace of imprisonment. The significance of the bill on procedure in cases against juveniles consists, in particular, in the integral and consistent regulation of the problems of juveniles, including the danger of demoralization and criminality, as well as preventive and upbringing actions and social rehabilitation. The law makes essentially broader the list of educational means providing thus a greater chance that the parents will approve these means and the social rehabilitation of juveniles will be possible in their natural milieu, in the family. The responsibility of families for education has been in this way increased. Speaking about the bill on procedure against people declining to work, its significance consists in the possibility to put social parasites on records and establish, thus, permanent control of their deeds.

[Question] And what does militia in order to reduce the problems of social pathology?

[Answer] Speaking most generally, our activities consist in recognition, prevention and fighting down. Recognition means picking up various information about the milieu of people endangered by a specific problem or involved in it, meeting sites of drug abusers and demoralized juveniles, places of illegal drugs and alcohol trade, drunkards' haunts, endangered families. We analyze the information gathered in detail and undertake determined preventive actions depending upon the degree of social danger. Their forms are very differentiated.

The most often, we have warning talks with the people endangered by demoralization. We also inform schools and workplaces about the behavior of their students and workers. We ask for the closing of liquor stores in areas fostering criminal offenses. We persuade the interested institutions to protect in a better way the property they are in charge of.

[Question] What is the efficiency of these actions?

[Answer] Evaluation of the efficiency of methods used is not simple. It cannot always be measured in a comparative way in numbers. We are improving continuously our working methods. It has to be stressed, however, that in the opinion of many experts and of a part of the society the Citizens Militia is the organ most and in the broadest way involved in fighting drug abuse and counteracting juvenile demoralization.

[Question] As a result of the existence of various social pathology there occur, as we already said, criminal offenses. Based on the fact that the militia has, as you indicated, knowledge of the crime-generating milieu, is it possible to draw a conclusion that the degree of detecting criminal acts is high?

[Answer] After a breakdown period caused by the general destabilization of social life, we returned at present to the former fairly high number of crime offenses. In the case of burglaries into public property it equals 55 percent and into private property, 60 percent. We are also successful in detecting many perpetrators of the heaviest crimes, homicides. Only few of them have managed to evade punishment.

[Question] But the percentage of undetected cases is sometimes the source of complaints about the ineffectiveness of militia activities.

[Answer] Each case is detected sooner or later because ideal crimes do not exist. The criminal always makes a mistake which leads us, due to the present state of criminological technique and investigation methods, to his trail. The lapse of time does not increase much the possibility of avoiding punishment. For example, for the last 10 years we did not manage to detect 109 homicides, but only 31 of them were committed in the period 1973-1979. These cases will also be solved one day, probably. It has to be remembered that even after official discontinuation of the investigation, we still continue our action. We construct new versions, verify the existing ones, look for links with other cases, analyze personality features of potential suspects. These activities do not come to an end until the perpetrator is authenticated. This is because we represent the standpoint that the inevitability of punishment and possibly fast trial of the criminal have a fundamental influence on the fight against crime. I want to say, however, that our actions, both preventive and investigative, have a chance of full success only in conditions of close collaboration with society. And we are especially keen about such a collaboration at present.

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CSO: 2600/1191



PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Lublin Province Secretary

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 29 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Wieslaw Skrzydlo by Leslaw Gnot: "Repetition of the Constitution"]

[Text] [Question] This time, the request for an interview is somewhat different from those normally conducted with the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee. Our interview concerns the constitution of the Polish People's Republic and your academic experiences and numerous achievements in this regard will thus serve to enlighten us on this topic. With the Sejm working on an entire package of important laws, including amendments to the constitution, I think that interest in our constitutional law has increased throughout society.

How can the constitution be assessed in comparison with similar legal documents of other countries? To what degree is it the constitution of our best traditions of government thought, the 3 May constitution? The March 1921 constitution - wasn't it also one of the most progressive and democratic constitutions of its time?

[Answer] Interest in the constitution and generally in problems of legislative activity is at this time rather large. I have noted this both in my university lecturing and during numerous meetings in various communities. There is hot debate on this subject. In view of the enormous activity of our Sejm, this is an understandable phenomenon. In the last year and a half, more laws of unique importance to our state have been passed than in the entire past decade. The point of reference of all this activity of the state and its organs on the problem of law and civil responsibilities is the fundamental law, in other words, the constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

In comparison to similar documents of other states and in relation to the other socialist which is probably the best comparison, our constitution is the oldest. While we have had our constitution for 30 years, the other

socialist states have adopted new ones. Yugoslavia has changed its own constitution during this same period several times. We have kept our constitution as it is since the 1950's.

You asked to what degree it is a continuation of national traditions. The second sentence of the constitution expresses that quite accurately: "The Polish Peoples' Republic continues the loftiest and most progressive traditions of the Polish people and embodies the ideals of liberation of the Polish working masses".

This statement speaks very clearly of the historical continuity of our state and the place held by the constitution in the development of our political thought. There are many examples of this historic continuity such as the term RZECZPOSPOLITA republic in the country's official name. This is a typically Polish expression and is unique. Another example is the Piast eagle as the state emblem or the national hymn which came into being in the struggle for independence. All of these are indeed expressions of the effort to preserve our historical continuity and respect for tradition.

The name of our parliament also attests to this desire. In our system of peoples' councils, the title "National Peoples' Council" was justified in a sense. In spite of this, we returned to the traditional name after our first postwar elections. The same applies to the title of "Sejm Marshall" -- it is an expression of the high dignity of this office.

All of this seems to be good and appropriate. Our Sejm, as a legislative organ, entered our history because of the activity of the 4-Year Sejm and the adoption of the 3 May constitution, the first in Europe. We do, of course, remember that the history of the Polish Sejm also includes the liberum veto, brawls and sedition but our political thought managed to break through such shortcomings and prepare laws which were very modern and progressive for the times.

It can also be rightly said that the first constitution of independent Poland, adopted in 1921, was democratic and progressive. It included broad civil rights, an 8-hour working day and many other provisions. These matters must, however, be regarded dialectically. Let's look at the second part of the quoted sentence from our constitution. That which was considered progressive by Fryca Modrzewski or Kollataj would definitely not be the embodiment of liberal ideals of twentieth-century workers. Therefore, in creating new laws, Polish political thought must constantly move forward.

[Question] Of course. The present constitution remains that of 22 July 1952 with the addition of amendments and changes introduced in 1976. As we know, you were part of that group of persons that prepared the first postwar constitution. The amendments and addenda seem to have been intended to take into account changes made in those years in the sphere of politics and the social and economic life of the nation...

[Answer] That's true. In its complete version, our constitution is that of 1952. Amendments have been made very frequently. In as much as I remember,

amendments have been added 10 times. The 1976 amendments are the most important.

The Sixth PZPR Congress has already confirmed the fact that the Polish constitution has fulfilled its task. The logical conclusion is that work was started on the preparation of a new constitutional law. That was also the expectation of the legal, academic and political communities. However, the time came for the next congress and no work on this had been done. The Seventh PZPR Congress passed a resolution on the need of introducing changes into the constitution of the Polish Peoples' Republic. The project had become somewhat hampered but efforts were energetically undertaken this time. Right at the end of the congress, on 19 December 1975, the Sejm appointed a commission to prepare changes to the constitution. The chairman of the Council of State headed the commission. Next, the commission, made up of Sejm deputies, called up an assembly of workers. Experts outside of the Sejm were called in for cooperation. I was one of three law professors called in.

The changes introduced were supposed to take into account the actual stage of social development and the specification of certain essential principles. This was a difficult matter and many points were particularized during heated discussions. Nonetheless, the introduction to the constitution of a provision on the leading role of the party, for example, was a simple matter in the socialist states where there existed one party. We have had to take into consideration the really high level of activity of our political parties. Generally speaking, the changes and amendments made concerned four principle groups of problems.

The first group of problems was that of accounting for constitutional changes made in Poland. This is where the problem of the party's leading role, the existence and activity of political parties and the role of the National Unity Front come into being.

The second group consists of provisions in the realm of social and economic structure. Here, the emphasis on land being a public commodity was especially important.

The third sphere of amendments and addenda concerned rights and liberties of citizens. Those rights were reinforced by additional constitutional guarantees.

The fourth group of problems was the most developed. This concerned the organization of our state apparatus. It covered the Council of Ministers, stressed the role of the premier and introduced the Presidium of the Council of Ministers. It established the authority of the courts by introducing the nomination of judges.

Generally speaking, none of this aroused sharp controversy although ensuing discussions were rather lively. There remained the most controversial matter. As future events showed, this was not at all an academic debate but turned out to be something fraught with consequences. The issue was the authority and position of the Supreme Chamber of Control. The role of state supervision

is great everywhere but in a socialist state which controls the means of production and decides what is to be produced, state supervision grew immeasurably. For this reason, the issue concerns not only the model but also the organizational forms of the apparatus of control.

There are two principle types that may be distinguished in this sphere: with one, state control is dependent on the government and is also aimed at controlling the activity of the government and its agencies. It is answerable to the parliament. This was the form of state control that we had in the beginning when the Control Bureau of the National Peoples' Council was active and during the operation of the Supreme Chamber of Control, except for the period of 1976-1980.

The other type of control is based on the subordination of the organs of control to the government. That is what existed in Poland during the activity of the Ministry of State Control in the years 1952-1956 and after the reformation of the organization of the State Chamber of Control in 1976-1980.

The initiator of these changes in 1976 was the premier at that time and his position was forced on the assembly. The proposed text stated that [original not legible]. This meant that the premier alone could have a deciding influence on the work of the Supreme Chamber of Control and exclude some actions, areas of management and institutions from the control of this agency. In such a situation, it is, of course, hard to say anything about supervision of the government.

Prior to 1976, the government submitted to the Sejm a report on realization of the state plan and budget. Before the Sejm started debate, it received the opinion of the Supreme Chamber of Control. As an organ of the Sejm, the Supreme Chamber of Control could assess government materials and check their accuracy. It could therefore present its views and recommendations on the matter of adoption of the report. After 1976, the decision to adopt the report for the government was made by the Sejm Commission on Planning, Management, Budget and Finances. This commission was thus a parliamentary body and not a professional organ. Was it able to get all of the important materials needed? Could it break through all the secretiveness of the bureaucratic machinery? Even the best commission cannot do this without a control apparatus. Therefore, subordinating the Supreme Chamber of Control enabled the premier to take himself from out of the supervision of the Sejm. Reality later more than showed us what that could produce.

For that reason, one of the first legal acts in the period of socialist renewal was changing of this law. This had already been done by 8 October 1980.

[Question] Presently, the amendments so far adopted are narrower in range but they are certainly needed and important...

[Answer] Naturally! The extent of these changes is not as broad but the social and political goals are very important. Emphasis of the working class

role and its participation in the government represent the same trend which brought about last year the introduction of the Tribunal of State and the Constitutional Tribunal. This was done to further strengthen socialist democracy. It is not a complete realization of the task but this provision in the constitution corresponds to other laws on worker self-management and peoples' councils.

The article on PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] is an expression of the same tendency. This is not just a substitution of the National Unity Front by PRON. It has taken into consideration PRON's previous practice of activity in cooperation with the government and other branches of administration and its many initiatives for which it has not escaped criticism. This is therefore the legal expression of the recognition of public support in the form of PRON for the state.

[Question] Perhaps I am getting ahead of things, but could you compare the amendments on the possibility of introducing martial law? It is said among our opponents that this measure negates any meaning in having rescinded martial law and is essentially antidemocratic. This provision is, after all, included in the majority of bourgeois democratic constitutions, including the United States constitution...

[Answer] French politicians and press have given us a lesson on the preservation of democracy and human rights. The constitution on the Fifth Republic, written in 1958 (and thus younger than ours) includes its article 16 which allows the introduction of martial law on the order of the president (he assesses the conditions, announces martial law and then he alone exercises authority under martial law. It is worth recalling that in our system, this decision is made by someone other than the head of state, by the Council of State, and the authority is then exercised by the government or by particular organs). The French introduced martial law during the Algerian crisis when it was announced by De Gaulle, then president. This meant that no decision on the crisis could be made by anyone other than the president, not even the parliament, the government as a whole, nor the Ministry on Algerian Affairs.

After a 6-month blockade of any sort of issues and decisions, the political opposition noisily left the parliament. There was simply no longer anything to be said.

[Question] In this case, however, martial law was used for beneficial purposes, to end the nightmare of a dirty colonial war and to gain the independence of Algeria!

[Answer] A president is not always a man of honesty and greatness such as De Gaulle. For that reason, communists having supported De Gaulle's Algerian policy in that particular case still assert that article 16 of the constitution, as it presently sounds, may be used for very diverse and not always democratic purposes.

[Question] One more question before we conclude our discussion. Could we say that our constitution, as it is presently amended, will adequately protect

both the fundamental interests of the socialist state and the basic duties and rights of its citizens? Can we say that it will realize the laws written into it?

[Answer] I would answer your question in this manner: At the present time, our constitutional law can fulfill its role quite well, especially with the addendum that both the rights and obligations issuing from the constitution are being consistently realized.

In analyzing at the same time our experiences in governing, drawing conclusions about the shortcomings and faults of the constitution revealed over the 31 years that it has existed and assessing the road we have travelled, its achievements, crises and social conflicts and the ways they have been overcome, we will arrive at the decision that we must prepare a new constitution which will entirely reflect the present stage of development of our society, outline directions of action and include the conditions necessary for the state and its mechanisms to always act correctly and to protect us from the use of improper means. We must here try to totally specify our laws in such a way that they not be general declarations of propaganda value but more clearly-stated and useful laws. After all, this is always the tendency of laws. That seems to me to be a proper tendency.

[Question] Thank you for the interesting discussion.

#### Radom Province Plenum

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 30-31 Jul 83 pp 1, 3, 6

[Text] Yesterday, a plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee was held in Radom. The subject of the session was a problem of special importance today: "Assessment of social and economic progress in the first half of 1983 and adoption of directions for activity by the provincial party organization for 1983-1985".

Taking part in the plenum were PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, Zofia Grzyb, member of the PZPR Central Committee, Jan Mikulski, deputy chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, Tadeusz Nowicki and the deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Economics Division, Franciszek Kubiczek.

Aside from provincial committee members, there were also present members of the presidia of the Provincial Party Control Commission and the Provincial Revisional Commission, members of the Provincial Economics Commission of the Provincial Committee, directors of the regional party work centers, first secretaries of factory committees and directors of the largest enterprises and institutions, the worker aktiv and representatives of banks, the Treasury Department and academic and technical associations. The Radom Province Governor, Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, chairman of the PRON Provincial Council, Jan Sajkiewicz, provincial MO [Militia] commander Col Henryk Walczynski, chief of the WSzW [Provincial Military Headquarters] Col Zygmunt Kosmala and the chairman of the administrations of provincial youth organizations were also present.

Chairman of the sessions, PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary Bogdan Prus, at the beginning of the plenum stated:

"In accordance with the resolution passed by the provincial reports-program conference, the Radom party organization is devoting much attention to social and economic problems. The economic situation last year and the first 6 months of this year have been characterized by further stabilization and order. This unequivocally confirms the effects achieved by worker collectives. However, it is true that within particular units they were very differentiated. Today's plenum which is being held so soon after the lifting of martial law should outline directions for continued work making it possible to better realize our economic tasks and bring economic reform principles into practice."

The report of the Provincial Committee Executive Board was read by Provincial Committee secretary Wlodzimierz Kocinski (discussion of the report included in this article).

The governor of the province, Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, presented an assessment of economic achievements (discussion of his speech presented below).

During discussion, 13 comrades shared their opinions. Tadeusz Nowicki also spoke up, stating among other things:

"The decision to lift martial law was made with great care. Our nation continues to be in a hard and complicated situation. The question of what our party is and what it will be is thus an important one. Yesterday's activity may be insufficient today. We are aware that more than 900,000 members have left the party. Worker participation has been unsatisfactory. People left the party for various reasons. They were frequently under pressure from the political opposition or from their community. We must reclaim these people. Today, the most important matter remains the struggle, but it must be directed at the efficient realization of economic tasks. Polarization of public moods depends upon how the consumer-goods market will be satisfied. We already know that the leadership cadre has passed a hard test. We are working under normal conditions so that social life in our factories should also return to normal conditions. Unfortunately, the situation in the trade unions and worker self-management bodies is alarming because people are not active everywhere. This has to be changed. That should be the task of the party. The introduction into practice of the principles of economic reform and national agreement is being consistently realized. The party will be a credible force if it is real from beginning to end.

"In Radom Province, and this is the assessment of the PZPR leadership, the social, political and economic situation is good. This is the result of work by the entire aktiv including the leadership of the provincial party organization."

In his presentation, deputy director of the Central Committee Economics Division Franciszek Kubiczek stated:



"Introduction of the principles of reform is a superior goal. We cannot, however, avoid certain modifications since conditions have changed. For that reason too, constant training and the improvement of the knowledge of leadership cadres is necessary. There has certainly been no lack of evidence that the greatest enemy of reform is ignorance. Keeping the plans of individual enterprises in accordance with the National Social and Economic Plan must be a priority. Previous study has shown that the ideas of those enterprises often stray from the general plan. All of us must consider hard economic and social realia. We cannot, after all, count on the growth of employment or an increase in materials-intensive production. Putting the economy into order will be served by soon to be presented proposals to change the pay system and also by the effort to create the possibility of concluding collective agreements in the plants."

Chairman of the resolution commission, Ryszard Rybak, presented a draft of the resolution to the plenum. This draught was unanimously accepted. The resolution, among other things, states that the PZPR Provincial Committee in Radom acknowledges the activities conducted up to now of the provincial party organizations and departments as being proper and appropriate given the complicated economic, political and social situation in the first half of 1983. It must be stated that the directions in political, social and economic activity taken by the provincial party organization at previous plenary sessions of the Provincial Committee have been proper. The Provincial Committee recognizes that the chief problems that require special attention by the instances of party organizations are maintaining the tempo of the growth of production in industry and agriculture, fulfilling tasks in housing construction, education, health care, communal management, consistent implementation of economic reform with its modified principles, improvement of factory systems of pay and rewarding good work with good pay.

In connection with the conclusion of activity by the army operational groups, the Provincial Committee expresses its thanks to them for their assistance in bringing order to management and administration.

In summing up the sessions, Provincial Committee Secretary Bogdan Prus stressed that the Provincial Committee's resolution and the conclusions drawn from discussion will certainly serve well to eliminate shortcomings observed in the region's management.

The plenum was concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

#### Discussion

Jan Malec, division director at the Radoskor Leather Industry Plant:

Radoskor has realized its production plan for the first half of the year. The economic situation has compelled both the enterprise's economic administration and its party organization to find unconventional methods of work. Active and consistent work by the party's plant committee has resulted in PZPR members being the best prepared to take part in worker discussions on establishing a



technical and economical plan. Plenary sessions of the PZPR factory committee have made it possible to scrupulously settle the realization of adopted resolutions and responsibilities. Recommendations presented by party members over the entire last term have been keenly studied. The recognition that party members are receiving in the plants is attested to by the fact that they make up 60 percent of the membership of democratic self-management bodies.

Ryszard Rybak, chairman of the Provincial Committee Economics Commission and chief investments specialist at the Walter Metal Works:

Increased production quotas were met and surpassed in our plant. Party members doing public work in economic and advisory commissions or in worker self-management bodies made a great contribution to the achievement of favorable economic results. The party organization has introduced broad economic training directly into production divisions. A plant thrift program which was assessed and accepted by the Executive Board of the PZPR Factory Committee has been effectively realized. These are positive signs, but there is no way to forget about the numerous problems and disturbances that the metal factories are fighting. A shortage of many materials, the need for substituting imported materials with domestic ones, and reduced and irregular cooperative deliveries have hindered the efficient realization of production quotas.

Jan Solski, PZPR Factory Committee secretary at the Pronit Plastics Plant:

The economic reform cannot succeed without the constructive activity of all party members and workers. We can gain the support of people through consistent, nondemagogic action and by presenting a personal example in every job by the systematic, consistent work of the party organizations. In our own case, we put special emphasis on forming a realistic program and more consistent realization of the Plant Committee's resolution. The adopted timetable disciplines but it also outlines assignments to the rank and file party members. Discussion of the future of the Polish trade union movement has been included in our party meetings. In the field of economics, we are trying to lower production costs by lowering the amount of money spent on materials, raw materials, fuel and power.

Adam Wychowaniak, worker at the Construction Combine:

No one has to be convinced what part the Construction Combine has had for years in housing construction. We have accomplished our 6-month plan by 55 percent. This has resulted in the turning over to inhabitation of 31,000 square meters of housing space. Some 534 families have received new homes. Thanks to improved production and an increase in discipline on construction sites, the workers have received a well-earned bonus. People have become convinced that it is worth working hard. Achievement and a good atmosphere on the job are also the result of good cooperation of the workers' self-management body, the party organization, and the combine's administration. There still are some difficulties. Among them is delay in the performance of assembly work due to the lack of preparation of the land under investment such as, for example, in the Mlodzianow development, they still don't have any heat at

Michalow. The combine feels the shortage of masons and plasterers. The housing factory does not have any space to store pre-fabricated parts. Our party organization must do everything to prevent these problems from having a negative effect on meeting assignments in the coming years.

Col Zygmunt Kosmala, chief of the Provincial Military Headquarters:

Along with the lifting of martial law, the activities of provincial and territorial army operational groups came to an end. Society is evaluating their work as well as that of military commissars. It may already be said that the army made a contribution to the normalization of life in Poland. Soldiers have also had their accomplishments in bringing the nation out of its economic crisis. As a result of 2 years of activity, there has been a noticeable improvement in the functioning of territorial organs of state administration, education and health care. We see too little progress in rural commerce, fuel and power management and in dairy cooperatives. There are many shortcomings in the work discipline of the SKR [expansion unknown], state farms and agricultural production cooperatives. Along with the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the soldiers of the Polish Peoples' Army will continue to oppose any signs of waste and lack of thrift.

Jan Mikulski, PZPR Central Committee member, farmer from Blotnica community:

During harvest in the country, one sees best who doesn't understand the reform. Unfortunately, you can still find many farmers who have resisted things and wait until they receive a new combine. As we know, there are too few of those to go around. Meanwhile, grain stands unharvested. Another thing is that the work of institutions serving agriculture is unsatisfactory. Equipment is not cared for and fuel is wasted. Peasants are critical of agricultural service. One rarely sees a bureaucrat in the fields. Why is it that we continue to be unable to cope with integrating lands? Land consolidation takes years. We must at last take away property entrusted to wasteful and uneconomical management. The peasant must see that his hard work is respected.

Eugeniusz Szpernal, member of the Provincial Party Control Commission, director of the Polish National Bank:

The introduction of the principles of economic reform is taking place under difficult conditions, a lack of market and monetary equilibrium. Despite this, there has been a decrease in inflationary tendencies. The production dynamics of Radom industry was 11 percent higher in the first half of the year than in the same period of last year. However, in 40 enterprises, the dynamics were negative and the resulting deficits have been estimated at 850 million zlotys since the anti-inflation programs at many plants have been too general and not concrete enough. The programs must be applied to the conditions of the given plant.

Wojciech Szymanski, first secretary of the PZPR City and Community Committee in Przysusza:

The introduction of economic reform is not taking place without conflicts. One hears the opinion that a better start was had by the new enterprises and those that were producing rather modest results before the introduction of the reform. The effect of this is differences in pay which are not always justifiable by the work of the particular work crews. Cases of such pay differences have occurred at plants which are placed close to one another. This has been caused by increased fluctuation in the cadre. An important issue is the adjustment of materials industries to the needs of plants producing consumer goods. What is happening is that plants are having to accept sheet-metal that is thicker than what they need. This results in an increase of production costs and waste.

Workers are everywhere aware of the need for thrift. We must, however, approach this matter from the point of view of both the plant and the public. In this situation, we must more quickly establish the proposed provincial center for economic initiatives.

Kazinierz Gardian, division chairman of the Polish Economic Society:

The first half of this year has brought in many positive signs such as the merit of the economic reform. In spite of the fact that many activists [original not legible] its effectiveness, production has grown along with the interest of the workers in the economic results. Workers of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Provincial Administration of the Union of Socialist Youth of Poland, the party aktiv and technical organization have put a great deal of effort into popularizing the principles of economic reform. Whoever has wanted to could improve his knowledge of reform principles and experience has shown that this is very beneficial to plants. It is no coincidence that those plants that have delegated more workers for training have had better results. They have taken up the reform better. An essential matter, however, is introducing principles of good management among the technical personnel at middle and lower levels and also the adaptation of organizational structures to contemporary needs. There is also the need for gaining worker support for reform goals by means of the worker self-management bodies.

Mielczyslaw Wilczynski, first secretary of the PZPR Town Committee in Pionki:

We have a positive regard for the achievements of enterprises in Pionki. They attest well to the atmosphere of work at these plants. From the very beginning, party efforts have been aimed at the actions of powerful cells within the plant aktiv. Considering the results of the first half-year of production, that was a profitable direction to take. In the near period, we will be directing more attention to party work and obtaining the support of the management cadre for our purposes. Presently, the activity of this cadre is mainly concentrated on pure economics. We will also be paying more attention in our party work to the trade unions and participation in them by party members. I think that PRON elements should form a common platform for these activities.

Ryszard Sztobryn, assistant director, Tobacco Industries Plant:

The production of cigarettes in the first half of this year came to 14,628,000 units and was 1.4 percent higher than planned. There was also an increase in the production of more popular products such as filtered "Extra Strong" and "Radoms". Efforts were undertaken in the plant to expand the materials base and an inspectorate of light tobacco cultivation was organized. An anti-inflation program was worked out in which stress was placed on safeguarding production, raising quality, increasing the supply of materials and reduction of wastes by reusing them in production.

Tadeusz Zielinski, secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Friendship Cement Work:

The basic responsibility of the party is to lead the nation from out of its crisis. The party aktiv in our cement plant has become acquainted with the particular documents of the Ninth PZPR Congress. This was the beginning of the harder and more arduous work of the party organizations. It was necessary to overcome many difficulties and to break the mood of indifference and apathy. Worker commissions and teams set up at division meetings have been gradually restoring confidence in the party. On the initiative of the team for the introduction of economic reform, for example, there was written a report which made possible the complex preparation of a program to improve efficiency and economy in our enterprise. The establishment of this program has been realized practically. Of course, there still occur some weaknesses in the work of primary party cells but we are breaking through and efficiently overcoming these problems as well. We are counting on the active stance taken by rank and file party members at the Friendship Cement Works in Wierzbica.

Wieslaw Kacak, deputy director for economic affairs at Techmatrans:

Our enterprise is manufacturing products of a technological investment nature. In spite of the difficulties that have occurred, we have been able to collect orders and part of our present production is being directed into exports. The primary indicators of the plant's economic plan are also encouraging even though it must be said that the production results at Techmatrans would be even better were it not for cadre shortages. At any time, for example, we could hire nearly 100 persons for the process lines in the new production halls but workers are lacking. We need lathe operators, grinders, millers, welders and locksmiths.

The prepared thrift and anti-inflation program will be submitted to the worker self-management organ. Realization of the program's points will produce tangible profits both to the enterprise and to the workers there.

Abridgement of the Provincial Committee Executive Board's report read by Secretary Wlodzimierz Kocinski.

The work of party organizations in the realm of management and economics has been concentrated on inspirational, organizational, propaganda and training

enterprises aimed at checking the drop in industrial production and introducing new financial and economic solutions. These activities were discussed at four plenary sessions of the Provincial Committee which were held last year.

The achievement of positive economic results by enterprises in this province last year has confirmed the fact that a serious and important role in the transformation of the province's economy and setting the province on the road to reform has been played by the entire provincial party organization. The creation of a proper political and social climate has had a positive influence on the improvement of the state of production and the gradual normalization of the situation in enterprises. In the majority of enterprises, programs for overcoming difficulties have come into being with the inspiration of party organizations. Efforts have been made to improve the merit pay system and programs for the efficient management of materials, raw materials and power. Factory teams working on reform and cost and price analysis have in a series of cases shown proper, and even more importantly, effective activity. Many technical and economic problems have been solved and there have been efforts to influence product prices that are proper from a point of view of social interests. It is, however, possible to find entirely unisolated cases of inefficient operation of teams and commissions dealing with production, economic and social matters. This has thus led to the supervisory role of party organizations and the motivational work of party members.

Industrial firms have obtained better results now than they did in the same period of last year. June was the eleventh month in a row in which the value of production sold exceeded that of the same period last year. It must, however, be noted that a drop in the rate of growth of production has been observed. In comparison with June of last year, there has also been a drop in the production of some more important products such as telephones, milk, beer, and cigarettes. On the other hand, more sewing machines, butter and shoes are being produced.

It is worth stressing the fact that in the first 6 months of this year, an increase in the sale of products occurred in all branches of industry with the exception of the power, fodder and utilities industries. The number of units showing a drop in production was lower than last year. Economic relations, however, continue to be unprofitable. The increase in average pay has exceeded the increase in work productivity. There have still not been worked out any motivational systems under which good work would be rewarded with proper pay. There have been especially large discrepancies in this regard in plants such as the Tobacco Industries Plants, the Ceramic Tiles Plant in Przysusza and at the Modarz Plant. At the same time, improvements in the use of work time and a reduction in the number of hours not spent working including paid work stoppages must be regarded as positive trends in key industries. A growth in production during the first 6 months of the year have also been noted by construction firms but even these firms need to solve the problem of pay and productivity.

In public housing construction from January to June of this year, only 39.4 percent of the land surface and 40 percent of the housing planned by the province for this year was turned over for use. This is considerably less

than the national average. We must, therefore, expect the party instances and organizations of firms and institutions participating in the investment process of such enterprises to completely fulfill their work in accordance with the plans made in September of last year by the Provincial PZPR Committee plenum.

The fact that investment has been expanded and that deadlines for the completion of work already begun have been extended must give us cause for alarm. It is thus necessary to hasten analysis of investment work undertaken. The agricultural situation is complicated. The drought of June and July has especially effected our province. This is certain to have a bad effect on the harvest of potatoes and especially on spring crops and second mowings of hay. This has reduced the chances of improving the situation with livestock products. There are still some areas in which we have seen some positive signs. In sum, the harvest of winter grain have not been bad and the harvests of fruits are satisfactory. The harvests from orchards are shaping up well.

The actual state of the economy and the internal conditions of firms have required constant modification. The plant party organizations have been inspiring a search for new solutions to the operation of firms. In the majority of party organizations, meetings were held which were devoted to discussion of the projected national social and economic plan for 1983-1985 and establishing an optimized variant of the 1983 plan for the 3-year period in their own plants. Our province's firms foresee in their plans an increase of production and services in 1985 of 17 percent average. This is higher than the figure foreseen in the national social and economic plan. An increase in export production of an average of 20 percent has also been planned.

The fact that these accomplishments are being planned in the face of lower work productivity than the national social and economic plan considers has evoked justifiable alarm. It is also dangerous to plan pay increases that exceed those of labor output. Present tendencies of the economy make it hard precisely to set plans for the coming period. There are chances for real improvement of the situation but there are also serious dangers of its deterioration due to winding up of the inflationary spiral. For this reason too, the development and popularization of anti-inflation and thrift programs must be broadly regarded as factors contributing to a quicker emergence from the crisis and the introduction of economic reform. Much attention has been given to convincing people of the fundamental truth that mastering inflation is made possible by an increase in the quantity of material production. Party organizations in a majority of enterprises have taken up appropriate actions to develop plant thrift and anti-inflation programs. A decided majority of plants have already implemented parts of these programs. The Polmetal Radom Metal Products Works and the Pionki Pronit Plant are good examples of such plants.

In our present situation, the participation of workers in making decisions about their firms has become not only possible, but very necessary. The worker, regarded as a subject of action, must be a comanager of his plant and have

an essential influence on decisions of importance to his place of work and the cadre. In spite of a series of initiatives and actions taken up by the provincial party instance, the territorial party instances and the party organization, the process of reactivating the worker self-management bodies and securing for them their proper position has continued to proceed in an unsatisfactory manner. There should be 167 worker self-management bodies operating in the province's firms, but as of today, there are 124. Worker autonomy, as an ongoing process and not a one-time act, requires constant documentation. For this reason, there is a need for appropriate training and above all, emphasis placed on the fact without self-managing enterprises, the economic reform will be crippled.

Ten months have passed since the introduction of the law on trade unions. It can be said from a point of view of time that the law has gained ever-greater support from worker collectives and party members. Presently in over 90 percent of work establishments able to have a trade union, work has been initiated to organize unions. The Provincial Court has already registered union cells in 60 percent of our province's units. Despite the progress made in union formation, there are communities in which an indifferent and even reluctant attitude to unions has been noted. This has been observed among the engineering and technical cadre and middle-level management. At the present stage, it is becoming necessary for party members to become personally engaged in the creation of trade unions. This must be done in order for the ideas of social justice to become shared by the PZPR and the class trade unions.

The approaching year 1984 will bring in the next stage of economic reform. Further training of workcrews and the management cadre is becoming necessary. There is still time to analyze beforehand the specific and concrete economic conditions for given plants in order to take up the realization of coming tasks in the most profitable and best way.

Next Step to Stabilization (from a report by the Provincial governor, Col Alojzy Wojciechowski)

In assessing the social and economic condition, it can be said that a gradual stabilization of our province's economy is taking place. This has been confirmed by the results of material production, commerce, transportation and services as well as improvement in the mood of the public. In many respects, this improvement seems permanent.

It is worth noting that the high rate of industrial production has climbed 111 percent. Small-scale industries have also shown the above rate of increased production. Analysis of the use of work time shows that there has been a reduction in the amount of time lost to paid work stoppages. This attests to the better organization of work and improvement in the supply of materials. However, on closer examination of the output of particular branches and plants, considerable differences in their performance is discernible. For example, there has been a rise in the production of butter, shoes, cement, sewing machines, paint, lacquer, beer and wine. The greatest production tempo is characterized by the Przysusza Hortex Plant, the Radom



Fruit and Vegetable Industries Enterprise and work cooperatives such as the Radomis Chemical Manufacturing Plant.

A smaller supply of meat for meat products has been caused by a drop in production at the Provincial Meat Products Enterprise and in the cooperative's community pork butcher's shops. The meat products plants in Jankow and Makow are having difficulties in export sales of their products. The sale of cigarettes by the Tobacco Industries Plants has decreased by one percent. Until quite recently, this much sought-after product was being stored in ever-greater quantities.

In general, employment in industry grew only slightly while salaries were increased an average 37 percent with the average monthly wage approaching 13,000 zlotys. In 44 work establishments, salaries went up more than 50 percent while 13 of those plants showed a drop in their production which contradicts the principles of reform and demands the special attention of plant management, worker self-management bodies and the cooperatives.

In examining the results of construction firms, one sees the slowest rate of production in the central planning units as compared to the territorial enterprises and this has occurred despite a significant raise in average salaries. The fact that a firm's own high planned costs in construction are added to the value of the production is alarming. Initiatives to lower costs are still proceeding too slowly.

According to the latest estimates, 80 percent of the grain in our province's fields has been cut and piled and 75 percent of that has been harvested. Recent rainfall has created good conditions for the sowing of aftercrops. This had made possible additional procurement of fodder and the continued feeding of cattle. This is immeasurably important in view of the unfavorable situation in cattle farming. The initial results of the June listing revealed a drop in the number of herds (29 percent) and of head of cattle (over 7 percent). There are though signs that interest in developing livestock production is increasing.

The market situation is characterized this year by a gradual decrease in the growth of income of the population in relation to last year. Retail sales went up 44 percent. A constant supply of rationed products and basic grocery items is now assured.

Many factors of nationwide importance will have a definite effect on the social and economic situation in our province until the end of the year. Although in the first 6 months of the year, there were no limitations on electrical power and natural gas, this does not mean that they will no longer come under dictates of thrift. There continue to be difficulties in supplying liquid fuels and this may be taken into account in prognoses of the coming months. There will also continue to be signs of shortages in hard currency. For this reason, there is a necessity to overcome such negative phenomena as excessive income growth threatening to increase inflation, too little export to both western and socialist commonwealth nations and unprofitable tendencies in industrial production for the market and for export.



## Kielce Province Secretary on Party Responsibilities

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 1 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary, Provincial PZPR Committee in Kielce: "Two Years After the Ninth Congress: Demands for Responsibility"]

[Text] At the Ninth Congress, we passed a resolution to prepare new fundamental party documents -- a program and charter. However, in the second half of 1981, they did not become documents widely known in the party and society. Then we were unable to create a broad front of support for the program of the Ninth Congress nor could we rally the majority of citizens behind it. The party however was active and the primary party organization and district party organization were active. We endeavored to achieve a national understanding on the basis of socialist renewal as recorded in the decisions of the Ninth Congress. Our propositions were rejected, however. We were repeatedly under accusation. We were reproached for lack of a program or a vision of the future despite the fact that the opposition's vision of the future was becoming more and more frightening.

It was only the responsible and far-sighted decision to introduce martial law and immediately remove the danger of fratricidal struggle that created the proper conditions for stabilizing the social and economic situation in our nation.

With the slogan: "The Party is the same but not just the same," we have taken the line of struggle and understanding. We have recognized winning over the workers of the Kielce region as our primary task. Every fourth party member in Kielce Province works in one of the province's 9 large plants located in our four large urban centers. We have thus not had any doubts about the range and force of activity of these few large party organizations. At times we have broadened action at the remaining plants and enterprises of which nearly 50 have remained within the direct interest of the PZPR Provincial Committee.

We have adopted a system of contacts with party organizations and factory work crews in the form of periodic meetings of Provincial Committee secretaries with any member of the given plant crew wanting to speak with them on a set day. In subjecting our activity to running assessment by the party organizations and workcrews, it has been easier for us to accomplish the tasks outlined in resolutions made by the Central Committee and Provincial Committee. At the same time, we have with deeper conviction decided on changes to be made in the province's economy and its social life. It is a shame, however, that as time has gone on it has been harder to obtain representatives of the various industries for meetings with the workcrews or the plant party organization. Have these comrades really come to feel that the improvement of

the situation in our country now frees them of the chance to personally observe the developments in factories distant from them?

We also maintain contacts with workcrews by means of their representatives who are invited to participate in the work of problem commissions operating within the Provincial Committee. Following the national conference of the workers' aktiv, we introduced to our calendar of events periodic meetings with participants of the conference. To our daily practice, we have added that of consulting with party teams, peoples' councils, trade unions and worker self-management bodies on various problems and decisions that we have made.

The constant cooperation, especially that of our provincial organization, with teams of party member advisors and also with the Presidium of the Provincial Peoples' Council has made it possible to determine the scale of needs of town and community inhabitants and the workers of particular work establishments. It also enables us to best decide what most urgently needs to be done and what is most important under the given conditions, especially the material and investment conditions.

We do continue to discern an attitude of "wishful thinking" in many recommendations and demands that we receive but broad discussion in such cases makes it possible as a rule for us to reach socially and economically justifiable decisions and also to achieve some degree of "mutual satisfaction".

From a perspective of the past 2 years, I can say that we gain greater authority by simple explanation of why it isn't possible to implement some decision rather than by avoiding taking an unequivocal position. Unfortunately, we do have examples of activities by some branches of the economy evading realization of their work, in spite of clear-cut settlements. I don't like to complain but I cannot remain silent about matters that we encounter in conversations with the primary party organization among the workers, in PRON and with other groups. What I am referring to is the lack of reaction by the industries to the alarming fast deterioration of the natural environment in the area of the "white basin" near Kielce. The regulation and putting into order of lands and roads impaired in the construction of a railway line (for the metal and sulfur industry) has been delayed while decisions to hasten the development of a power and communal services infrastructure, especially in Kielce, are dragging on.

As I have already said, we cannot build authority by not looking people in the eyes and we have exhausted our province's possibilities in the matters mentioned above.

We rejoice in the fact that, despite the many serious perturbations of the past 2 years, trade unions in work establishments are developing and being formed and worker self-management bodies are improving their work. It pleases us all the more that both the union organizations and the workers' councils want and are trying to be real partners of the party organizations and plant administrations in solving the employees' everyday problems and social problems as well as plant production problems. We are still observing awkwardness of action, especially of the worker self-management bodies and "sticking"

on every problem. I feel that time will teach the proper forms of plant co-management by employee self-management bodies and that the members of those bodies will not only absorb their share of the plant's profits but also the methods for generating them.

The past 2 years have produced conclusions on the need to develop and maintain a dialogue with youth. This was referred to rather broadly after the Central Committee Ninth Plenum but we are not satisfied with the actual effects. I think that the national conference of the PZPR youth aktiv which was held on 2 and 3 July this year in Gdansk was a good impulse to enliven activities among and with the young generation.

In my assessment of the period following the Ninth Congress, I want to make still another observation. The execution by various bureaus and institutions of the recommendations and postulates made first by the party reports-elections campaign and then by the reports campaign has well served the restoration of authority to the party. The party organizations are carefully following progress in realization of resolutions and recommendations made at their meetings.

We are still noticing many drawbacks in our lives, and the bureaucracy and unwillingness, perhaps inability, on the part of bureaucrats of various levels and institutions having to deal with peoples' problems. They often regard people coming to them as nuisances.

#### We Are Trying To Help People

The Central Committee Plenum's resolution on letters and complaints presented to party organizations has caused the members of party instances and the party aktiv apparatus to pay greater attention to the problems those communications present. The result of this is also the enhancement of the personal responsibility of party members, the leader cadre, and the workers of the state administration and economic administration for dealing with peoples' problems.

It should be mentioned that activity to eliminate the sources of peoples' complaints and discontent continues to be insufficient. There are still too many irregularities in citizen contacts with office workers or employers and the handling of different matters takes too long. The responses to problems are frequently vague and elusive which has become a source of discontent and more complaints.

Complaints and demands voiced by citizens are continually the object of special interest to party instances and organizations. It's good that people come to us with their problems but it's a sad fact that a matter receives proper attention only when it has been brought to the attention of the party.

In speaking about the period following the Ninth Congress, there is no way to omit assessment of people that kept to convenient and inconspicuous positions [words illegible] things were hard for the party. Now that the party is becoming stronger and closing its ranks, those same people are taking the

attitude of arbitrators of what should be done and how it is to be done. They still do not have much to say about the future and too much to say about the past, especially the past two years. What is most remarkable is that these people identify work for the party and nation with holding a high position or function. They feel that it is "beneath their dignity" to do normal everyday work among factory workcrews.

The period which has now passed had burdens and cares which were too much for our former comrades but, on the other hand, those times tempered the comrades that remained as well as the party. They strengthened the party and prepared it for the realization of new tasks that every day is bringing -- tasks outlined in the program of the Ninth Congress, the program of socialist renewal.

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YOUTH SURVEYED ON RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES, PRACTICE

Warsaw WIES WSPOLCZESNA in Polish No 5, May 83 pp 124-128

[Article by Stanislaw Pajka: "From Research on Youth's Outlook on Life"]

[Text] I conducted research on the religious outlook of youth at the end of the 1979-80 school year. I used the technique of a sounding poll, attempting to gain answers to the following questions:

- What is the structure of attitudes of those examined toward religion?
- What is the frequency of participation of the examined in religious practices?
- What primarily prompts the examined youth to religion and religious practices?
- What factors above all determine attitudes toward religion?
- How do the young understand the essential contents of the expression of religious doctrine?
- What aims of life purposes do young people prefer?
- How do the attitudes of the examined present themselves in the light of evaluations of the chosen phenomena from the sphere of private and social life?

The group examined consisted of 477 students (255 girls and 222 boys). The majority of those examined were high school students of class 3 and 4 (208 students of general high school, 215 students of technical high school), the rest, (54) were students of a postmatriculation, medical course of studies.

If the social-professional affiliation of the father is to be taken under consideration, the group presented has the following structure (data given in percentage):

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Private farmer	44.7
Peasant-worker	12.7
Unskilled worker	6.5
Skilled worker	17.6
White-collar worker with partial or full high school education	9.6
White-collar worker with partial or full higher education	4.6
Lack of data	4.3

The overwhelming majority of the examined (over three-fourths) come from villages, most often small, located far from main transportation routes. The rest came from cities of less than 20,000 inhabitants. Let us add that the area of the investigation was the region of one of the newly created voivodships in central Poland with a decidedly agricultural character.

#### Attitudes Toward Religion

Most often attitudes toward religion were examined with the help of declarations of those examined. As is known, this method--as all those examined are well aware--does not always and does not in full reflect the true state of affairs. In the light of the results obtained in the investigation presented here, the attitude of the examined to religion according to sex and place of residence is as follows (data given in percentage):

<u>Category</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Together</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>City</u>
Strong believer	40.0	24.3	32.7	37.8	24.1
Believer	44.7	52.7	48.4	45.9	55.2
Believer but having certain doubts	10.5	14.9	12.6	12.5	17.2
Undecided, indifferent	2.4	2.8	2.5	2.0	3.5
Actually nonbeliever but tied to tradition	1.2	1.4	1.3	2.0	--
Nonbeliever, opponent of religion	1.2	1.4	1.3	2.0	--
Lack of answer	--	1.2	0.6	--	--

It is easy to notice that in the examined group young people believing without reservation decidedly dominate (over 80 percent). Attitudes of this type appear among girls much more often than among boys, more often among students residing in villages than in the city. The group of students "believers, but having certain doubts" is found in second place. Such an attitude toward religion was declared by every eighth respondent. Other types of attitudes appeared in insignificant percentages.

It is worth looking at the analyzed attitudes here from still another side. And so one of the questions was the following: "How would you define the attitude toward religion of the greater majority of your fellow students from your class?" It turns out that answers to this question pointed to a decidedly lesser degree of religiousness than the indicators mentioned above. For example, when the examined were asked directly to define their own attitude

to religion, practically every third placed himself in the group of people "deeply believing"; whereas, asking indirectly, an indicator somewhat less than 7 percent was obtained. The question then comes to mind, which of the two indicators of credibility reflects the analyzed attitudes. I am convinced that the data obtained by indirect questioning are rather closer to the truth. Nonetheless, nearly 60 percent of the respondents classified the majority of fellow students of their class as believers, which testifies that in the group examined the decided majority have attitudes of belief.

In order to examine the dynamics of the analyzed attitudes, in one of the questions the respondents were asked to define their attitude to religion in childhood and at present. Here are the results (data given in percentage):

<u>Category</u>	<u>In the past</u>	<u>At present</u>
Strong believer	34.6	32.7
Believer	50.9	48.4
Believer but having certain doubts	1.3	12.6
Undecided, indifferent	4.4	2.5
Actually nonbeliever but tied to tradition	1.3	1.3
Nonbeliever, opponent of religion	1.3	1.9
Lack of answer	6.2	0.6

It turns out that the aforementioned attitudes, despite the passage of time, remain practically the same, standing seemingly in place. This is so far many reasons, among others surely, because the examined youth remain under the strong pressure of religiousness of their parents, especially mothers. This theory is illustrated by the composition given below, showing the religious attitudes of the respondents together with their mothers and fathers (data given in percentage):

<u>Category</u>	<u>Examined student</u>	<u>Mothers</u>	<u>Fathers</u>
Strong believer	32.7	49.7	22.0
Believer	48.4	43.4	55.2
Believer but having certain doubts	12.6	2.5	5.7
Undecided, indifferent	2.5	2.5	12.6
Actually nonbeliever but tied to tradition	1.3	--	1.9
Nonbeliever, opponent of religion	1.9	0.6	1.9
Lack of answer	0.6	1.3	0.7

In order to obtain a fuller picture of the religious attitudes of the examined youths it is worth comparing them with the results of a parallel investigation, although this is made difficult first of all because of the use of different examining techniques. I took into consideration the results of the following investigations: R. Dyoniziaka,<sup>1</sup> H. Owoc-Remiszewskiej,<sup>2</sup> Z. Kaweckiego,<sup>3</sup> B. Sciborskiego.<sup>4</sup> These concerned, with the exception of the last investigation which referred to teachers, youth from different high schools, most often from the final year of school. In the synthetic formulation (of course, after making certain statistical and defining-topological operations) the outlook on life attitudes of youth appear as follows (data given in percentage):

<u>Category</u>	<u>My own investigations N = 477</u>	<u>R. Dyoniziak N = 315</u>	<u>H. Owoc- Remiszewska N = 650</u>	<u>Z. Kawecki N = 8,909</u>	<u>B. Sciborski N = 647</u>
Decided fideists	32.7	12.0	29.9	12.8	24.0
Fideists	48.4	70.2	47.7	43.7	24.0
Undecided, indifferent	12.6	13.2	15.8	35.8	22.4
Rationalists	2.5	4.0	5.8	7.3	11.6
Decided rationalists	1.9	0.6	0.8	1.1	11.4
Lack of data	0.6	--	--	--	--

I took as the main criterion the attitude toward religion. And so I meant by decided fideists, "deep believers"; by fideists, "believers"; by undecided, indifferent, those who do not have a defined attitude or who treat religious matters indifferently; by rationalists, those who "although they believe, have some doubts" or "they do not believe," but are attached to traditions; by decided rationalists, those who are definitely "nonbelievers" and even opponents of religion.

In all the aforementioned investigations, the highest indicators focused on decidedly fideistic attitudes. Therefore the overwhelming number of school-age youth shows, if one is to trust the declarations, a strong connection with religion (also in other investigations similar indicators were obtained<sup>5</sup>). As a matter of fact only the investigation of Z. Kaweckiego shows a clearly smaller degree of religiousness.

In the above composition the comparison of attitudes of youth and teachers looks interesting. Admittedly educators showed the highest percentage of declarations indicating rational attitudes; however, nearly half of them held a fideistic outlook on the world. It is difficult to generalize this fact, but it is possible to risk a statement that the universality of religious attitudes among school-age youth results from, among others, the large permeation of analogous attitudes of teachers.

Let us have a look at the answer to the question: "What mainly prompted you to religious faith?" Here are the results in percentages (data do not total 100 percent, because the respondents had the possibility of multiple choices):

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
"Religion gives a sense of inner peace"	47.8
"Concern for salvation of the soul"	34.0
"Raised this way"	32.2
"Religion grants a deeper sense to human life"	26.4
"Reason speaks for the existence of God"	25.8
"Religion helps in improving character"	24.5
"Religion is consolation in difficult moments of life"	15.2
"Attachment to a tradition of many centuries"	10.3

It turns out that emotional motives dominate, which is expressed in the statements: "Religion gives a sense of inner peace" or "Faith is consolation in



difficult moments of life." Rational motives were also often enumerated for religiousness: "Concern for salvation of the soul," "Religion helps in improving character," and "Reason speaks for the existence of God." An element of tradition clearly became apparent. Part of the respondents based their faith in family upbringing, environmental reasons. Few of the examined, disclosing the reasons of their religiousness, wrote: "As the church demands," "Those smarter than me believe," "I believe because I know of stories and miraculous events," and "I believe and I do not think about why."

#### Participation of the Examined in Religious Life

Let us turn our attention to the place of religious practices in different forms of spending holidays. To the question: "What do you do most often on Sunday?" nearly 80 percent of the examined, including a decided majority of girls, answered: "I go to church." This choice clearly outdistanced every other (12 proposed answers). The following activities ranked themselves in later places (only those answers are mentioned which obtained 10 percent or more of the selections):

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
"I watch television"	63.2
"I go to a party, a club, a social evening"	35.8
"I fill my time with my favorite activities"	32.7
"I do homework"	22.6
"I go to a film"	10.2

As we see, the participation in religious practices is quite universal, although this participation, about which the youth informed in interviews, in many cases does not come so much from religious impulse, but rather as a result of custom. Part of the respondents answered simply: "What is there to do on Sunday?"

One of the questions inquired about the frequency of participation in church services. Let us then look at this sphere of activity (data given in percentage):

<u>Category</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Together</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>City</u>
A few times a week	14.1	2.7	8.8	10.2	6.9
Once a week	68.2	59.5	64.2	67.3	58.6
At least once or twice a month	10.6	17.6	13.2	14.3	6.9
A few times a year	2.4	10.8	6.3	6.2	6.9
Only on important church holidays	3.5	5.3	5.0	2.0	17.2
Does not participate at all	1.2	4.1	2.5	--	3.5

The above data show that an overwhelming number of respondents, especially girls, participate regularly in religious life. This concerns in a considerable greater degree youth from villages than from cities. The type of school in this case is of no significance. Other empirical analyses indicate similar regularity. Let us look for example at the composition, in which the frequency of participation in church services was shown comparatively (data given in percentage)<sup>6</sup>:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Investigation Z. Kaweckiego</u>	<u>Author's Investigation</u>
A few times a week	6.8	8.8
Once a week	50.4	64.2
At least once or twice a month	13.1	13.2
A few times a year	5.0	6.3
Only on important church holidays	11.0	5.0
Does not participate at all	12.7	2.5

The aforementioned above indicators in spite of certain differences are, however, concurring. The essential question emerges then: What prompts young people to participate in religious practices? Only in this light does the closer recognition of religiousness become possible. The depth of religious attitudes is not testified to only by the fact of participation in religious practices, but first of all by motives. What can be said, investigating the problem from this point of view, about the youth examined by us? And so it turns out that only 36 percent from among the entirety of the examined group decided to answer: "I go to church in order to deserve eternal salvation." The overwhelming majority pointed to other motives. Most universally occurred arguments of the type: "I participate in religious services because it is moral support for me" (40 percent). A few answered: "I go to church on account of my family," "I want to subordinate myself to the commands of religion," "I wish to hold onto tradition," "In order to meet with acquaintances," and the like.

The investigation discussed here, despite the disclosure of a great universality of declared fideistic attitudes, does not testify as a matter of fact to a strong religiousness of the examined group. It seems that for a great number of respondents, faith and participation in religious life has a ritual, customary character. However, these statements are only suppositions and require empirical verification.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. R. Dyoniziak, "Subculture of the Young," WIEDZA POWSZECHNA, Warsaw, 1965, p 107.
2. H. Owoc-Remiszewska, "Outlook of Life Attitudes of Village Youth," ZESZYTY XVII, Warsaw, 1978.
3. Z. Kaweckki, "Outlook on Life of Matriculated Students," TKKS, Warsaw, 1981.
4. B. Sciborski, "Outlook on Life Attitudes of Youth," "Rola mlodego pololenia w budowie rozwiniętego społeczeństwa socjalistycznego" [Role of the Young Generation in Building of a Developed, Socialist Society], Cracow, 1978, pp 392-369 [as published].
5. Lieutenant Z. Skorzynski, "Youth in the Light of a Poll 'My Outlook on Life.'" WIEZ, 7-8, 1960.
6. Kaweckki, op. cit.

PROFESSOR ANALYZES CAUSES OF RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 32, 7 Aug 83 pp 1, 13

[Interview with Prof Jan Szmyda, director of the Institute of Social Sciences and Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies in the Higher School of Education in Krakow, by Ewa Zarzycka: "The Religious Pole, What Kind Is He"]

[Text] [Question] Professor, what is the psychology of religion and just how does it fit into the structure of psychological science?

[Answer] Psychology of religion is one of the truly empirical division of theology. It is a discipline with quite rich traditions; we are presently observing the centennial of its existence. However, it is still a controversial area of knowledge when applied to studies concerned with religion. The controversies involve its methods, placement within the structure of theology and even this discipline's character.

[Question] Exactly so! A particular doubt comes to my mind. Since religion is a creation of society and history, it thereby involves whole societies. Therefore, isn't an analysis of an individual's religious beliefs like looking for a fault where there is none?

[Answer] That is how it began with this field of study, narrow and limited problems were taken under consideration. As an example, initially attention was focused on religious feelings in a large measure not related to the personality of society's context and even apart from an individual's conditions of existence. But lately, in my estimation, particularly around the beginning of the 1970's you could notice quite readily a favorable reorientation in this regimen in research procedures. So you step back quite decidedly from such research practices which concentrate on one narrow problem. Today we accept for research a certain problematical whole, which is the religious man, the human in his existential, historical and social composition.

[Question] Isn't that too much just for one scientific field of study?

[Answer] Your question is basic and contains the uncertainty; if the psychology of religion is capable of handling the requirements of an appropriate research approach to any condition which becomes the subject of investigations

in social studies. This question can be answered as follows: psychology of religion, as a psychological discipline from the start, has to accept many established research directives as, sociology, ethnography, culture and even philosophical anthropology. Secondly, psychology of religion in its own field has to accept a relatively wide variety of problems. It cannot limit itself to segmented goals and tasks, because it would deviate from that, which is its essential purpose. At the present time it is necessary to simultaneously rely in part on research methods and techniques which are available to various psychological studies like: clinical social psychology, progressive development of mankind, or even to psychiatry. So, the research workshop of religion psychology becomes very complicated. This does not mean that there is no possibility of organizing a complex research procedure and obtaining interesting recognizable results. It is only necessary to concentrate on the particularly complicated entity, which is the religious man.

[Question] So what is this religious man? Is there some internal conditioning in the individual which makes him a religious person?

[Answer] For a relatively long time different tendencies and even religious dispositions of man were argued. Some talked about specific religious instincts, others about certain singular attitudes of the religious nature. Basically you can consider this argument settled. Settled in the sense that in the final analysis it was impossible to confirm any specific instinct or particularly explicit forms of thoughts or religious feelings. Even scientists specializing in religion psychology who are affiliated with the Church and therefore religion, who are conducting investigations on an unquestionably high level of theory and methodology, unanimously concluded that they were unable to confirm the existence of such a religious element. Therefore there does not exist a religious human separated from culture, upbringing, or civilization. Oftentimes a person becomes religiously devoted in an atmosphere conducive to religious culture, upbringing, history and especially social background.

[Question] Our present critical situation probably provides just that kind of conducive conditions?

[Answer] In this matter you can only present certain hypotheses, it is too early for substantive opinions. It appears, however, that it is really so. The present sociocultural condition of our country is in a great degree religiously oriented. This is a dramatic development in nearly all crisis. At the present time we can nearly visually notice the wave of religion and irrationalism. In a case where there is a devaluation of old values and new ones are scarce, people as a rule turn to religion looking for a haven and hope.

[Question] Professor! On the basis of conducted investigations, can you in reality tell the condition of the faith of these people who believe themselves to be religious? How much do these people know of what they believe in?

[Answer] Near the end of the 1970's there were surveys of youths conducted on the subjects of the philosophy of life and religion, particularly among college students. These surveys were conducted in a setting just before the crisis. They included the college centers in Krakow, Kielce, Rzeszow, Warsaw and Gdansk.

Results of these studies showed that the religious attitudes of our college youth in a large degree are based on emotional premises, traditional and educational factors. Very often we have verified situations where the questioned could not show even the most elementary knowledge of religion, however they insistently professed their piety. At this time we are faced with a somewhat greater problem. From our surveys it is evident that religion does not perform the functions of eschatological metaphysics, but rather those that are normative and regulatory. Therefore its functions are typically practical.

[Question] So the concern is not so much about eternal, but rather temporal life?

[Answer] Yes. Normative, regulatory functions play the primary role in modern Polish religiousness. This is a very symptomatic situation indicating that this religiousness although very extensive, in reality is not very deep. It is a substitute for shortcomings in certain cultural and social conditions, in relations with other people and even the family. In these areas, religion in many cases serves as a replacement.

[Question] Undoubtedly a desire to belong to a particular group and identify with it is quite important?

[Answer] Among some very realistic human necessities are found desires to be affiliated, become rooted within a prescribed community assemblage. If secular organizations of communal life do not properly satisfy this desire, then a person quickly turns to groupings organized on the precepts of religion. Besides, in some countries, as an example in U.S. religion, first of all, performs the role of a social and cultural integrator. We do not value sufficiently the role tradition plays, which grows in importance at times of crisis and which in a large degree is cultivated by religion. Through it a person often reaches for his cultural traditions.

[Question] Does a devout Pole, an average Catholic, differ much, for example from a German Protestant?

[Answer] On that psychological phenomenon, the religious person, although it has no basic meaning, the religious format leaves its plain mark especially on his demeanor, but less on his emotional behavior. Catholicism with its wealth of forms, in my estimation, is better adapted for religious mass molding. On the other hand, other religious faiths, for instance Protestantism, because of its simplicity of form is rather better adapted to structure elitistic, individual, but more profound religiousness.

[Question] More intellectual?

[Answer] Yes. Although also emotional. Because with us, the area of religious emotions is somewhat shallow. The religious experiences of the average Kowalski in general, in my estimation, is not an authentic transcendental experience.

[Question] What then is the average Pole seeking in religion? What is most real for him?

[Answer] In the present conditions of our country, the faithful are often looking to find in religion a certain system of values and a meaning to their own lives. They are searching for patterns of its regulation and orderliness, so in reality for that which is not the substance of religion. Not metaphysical experiences of authentic direct contact with God, but for that which they are lacking on this earth. So an improvement in our temporal existence in the macro and microsocial road, would be the diminishing of religious influence.

[Question] Let's return once again for a while to the already mentioned studies of religiousness of the college youth. How does the question of tolerance appear, the attitudes of the believer toward nonbeliever?

[Answer] In spite of appearances we did not find increase intolerance of either side toward one another. Although you might say that each strengthening in Catholicism creates not necessary reluctance, but increases the gap with marxism. This also acts in reverse. I do not think however that this represents a marked increased in intolerant positions.

[Question] How did this problem look in earlier studies?

[Answer] I know the results of former research and can attest that in this area the situation did not really change. In the last investigations rarely did the specter of religious fanaticism or devotion show itself, because a true correlation does exist between these phenomena and intolerance. The more refined the religion, the more tolerant it is.

[Question] Let us talk some more about scientific discipline itself, the psychology of religion. To what degree is it a practical science which is being utilized in everyday life? I am obviously excluding its incorporation into religious studies.

[Answer] In reality psychology of religion was the outgrowth of religion's educational necessities and requirements of the clergy. It continued to play an enormous role in this area. There has even been developed a certain special kind of practical psychology of religion, that is, a pastoral psychology. However if it involves an attempt to derive advantages from the perceptive faculties of religion psychology for lay requirements in education and efforts to desecularize social life, then unfortunately you have to admit that in this direction psychology of religion is relatively badly utilized by the world.

[Question] That's too bad. It could be very useful for everyday living.

[Answer] Certain experiments are being conducted in our country at this time. Some institutions interested in the process of secularizing requested access to the results of hypothetical investigations which I coordinated in the latter part of the 1970's. From these findings you can arrive at a number of practical results. Psychology of religion is therefore a science that should be utilized, only at this time it is more of an assignment than a conclusion.

[Question] What rank does psychology of religion fill in Polish science, in fact, how does it look in the present situation?

[Answer] To a certain degree there is a paradoxical coincidence. It seems that during the period of our history in which our statehood was to a large extent under the major influence of religion and of the Catholic Church, I am thinking of the period between the wars, psychology of religion identified itself with meaningful results. Indicated here among other things can be the research conclusions of psychologists like, Wladyslaw Witwicki whose works have worldwide acclaim, or Stefan Blachowski and Stefan Baley. Still in the period of the People's Poland, when our statehood has been established on secular principles and separation of Church and government, psychology of religion did not gain a standing that it should have had, considering society's needs. Quite the contrary, you can even talk about a certain slowing down of progress in this area. We don't even refer to the things that were developed during the period between wars. Of course I'm speaking of conditions among lay psychologists in scientific environments, religiously attuned--this continuity has never been broken and research is conducted continuously.

[Question] What are the reasons for this delay and degeneration?

[Answer] That's a very difficult question. There must be many conditions attached to this. One of the direct reasons can be the fact that the psychological scientific environment in our country did not generate sufficient interest for this specialization, not even for its revival.

[Question] How about the peacetime psychology of religion? Was it practiced by scientists of various political convictions?

[Answer] Certainly. During peacetime it was practiced by analytical psychologists religiously active and scientists of nonreligious orientation, including atheists. Coming back to the present situation. In countries where social studies are more developed, psychology of religion is a serious field. There are even special institutions or research teams. That's how it is in Sweden, Holland or in U.S. and Canada, as well as in socialistic countries like Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and partially in the USSR. It appears that more is done in this scientific area abroad than we are doing.

[Question] Is it possible that we don't even have a tentative center for the coordination of research conducted in these studies?

[Answer] As of the present, there is no such center. There are individuals interested in these studies, some of them have several coworkers. These represent a scientific nucleus of this science in our country. I believe that it is high time to activate some kind of center for the psychology of religion. Centers of this sort would not necessarily have to be attached to universities, since studies of this nature are performed at institutions of comparatively lesser importance, as for instance in some of the schools of education like the ones in Krakow or Kielce. A center of this kind could be started at the Academy of Social Sciences at the CC of PZPR. After all the matter of location is of secondary importance.

[Question] If such a center was established, who would be included in its roster? Would it be strictly a group of psychologists?

[Answer] Definitely not. It would be composed of science specialists from many branches of learning, so, in addition to psychologists, sociologists, ethnologists and specialists in cultural sciences.

[Question] At what point would it be proper to begin?

[Answer] From the bottom. Beginning with the development of a modern methodological base for interdisciplinary research of a religion psychology aspect, new methods and techniques for conducting emperic investigations in this field. Only then can you think of a perspective plan of action for dissemination of the center's research data. The long-range goal, in my estimation, is the prime importance of development of a general theory of religion, for after all, we still do not know who this religious person really is and what is the substance of individual religiousness.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12306

CSO: 2600/1220



ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU VISITS ECONOMIC, AGRICULTURAL UNITS

Visit to Tulcea County

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Aug 83 pp 1, 3

[Working Visit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to Tulcea County]

[Excerpts] On 26 August Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, made a working visit to Tulcea County, accompanied by comrades Constantin Dascalescu, Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca, Gheorghe Oprea and Ion Patan.

Today, Tulcea is the sole producer of Romanian ferroalloys. The only Romanian fishing port is located here and it also has one of the most modern shipyards in the country.

The presidential helicopter arrives in the municipal stadium. There are shouts of "May freedom and peace triumph" and "Development funds, not military budgets." In an open car, driving around the stadium, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu responds to the ovations of the crowd. On the highways of the city, he is greeted with the same love, with warmth and gratitude by thousands of citizens.

The first factory visited is the Aluminum enterprise, where he is greeted by Gheorghe Caranfil, minister of the chemical industry and Iustin Dimitriu, director general of the Central for Nonferrous and Rare Metals, and the director of the enterprise, Aurel Urcan. The working visit continues in the metallurgical combine. The minister of the metallurgical industry, Neculai Agachi, was present. The director of the combine, Cristian Boiangiu, reported that since the enterprise was established, in 1976, there has been an increase in the production of ferroalloys amounting to 353 percent. Important increases have also been obtained in the production of ferrosilicon, ferromanganese, silicomanganese, ferrochrome, and technical silicon. In addition, a strong refractory metals base--magnesite bricks-- has been developed, replacing imported products of this type. The secretary general of the party was informed that specialists from the combine--together with those from the Institute for Metallurgical Designs (IPROMET)--have devised a number of technologies and installations ensuring a 20 percent reduction of energy consumption, compared to the consumption at the time the combine began production.

Then the secretary general visited the enterprise for ship construction and technological equipment, a modern industrial unit on the banks of the Danube. The construction of the enterprise began in 1975. Now it is a complex unit involved in executing construction programs of special importance for our national economy. The products include: maritime and river vessels, barges for transporting freight on the Danube-Black Sea Canal, coastal fishing vessels and technical ships, floating irrigation pumps, and various types of hydro-power equipment. When he arrived in the enterprise Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was greeted by Ioan Avram, minister of the machine building industry and Constantin Dutu, the director of the enterprise.

In the discharging and assembly hall, the secretary general of the party noted that the production areas were not being properly used. Criticizing the existing situation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked the leadership of the ministry concerned, the county party organization and the management of the enterprise to ensure that production be organized, as soon as possible, according to fabrication lines, according to types of ships, in a technological flow, according to production phases, which will lead directly to high productivity and increased efficiency. The responsible officials present pledged to take all necessary measures to carry out his instructions in an exemplary manner.

They visited the hall for the assembly of ship bodies, an area which offers the best working conditions throughout the year, where the second 7,5000 [as printed] dwt cargo ship is in an advanced stage of production. Here, the secretary general said that measures should be taken to improve the organization of labor, ensuring conditions for a continuing increase in economic effectiveness.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked the specialists and the responsible officials present to take, on a priority basis, the necessary measures for assimilating spare parts in the country, and to ensure, through their own resources, the repair and return to use of all ships which are undergoing repairs. He also said that the schedule for the construction of the fleet of coastal vessels should be respected and their performances, improved.

In the presence of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the "Moinesti" cargo ship, the first general cargo ship constructed in Tulcea, was launched. The ship has a high-power engine, constructed in Resita, and has loading and unloading installations, as well as ship and navigation equipment produced in the specialized enterprises in the country.

The working visit continued with a trip to the fish canning factory of the enterprise for the industrialization of fish in Tulcea. On this arrival, the secretary general of the party was greeted by Ion Tesu, the minister of agriculture and the food industry, Marin Capisizu, minister state secretary, head of the Department of the Food Industry, and Sevastita Mirea, director of the enterprise for the industrialization of fish in Tulcea.

The secretary general of the party directed the leadership of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry to take measures to increase the capacity of storing fish, recommending the construction of new refrigeration facilities. Analyzing the activity of ocean fishing, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu directed that the necessary repairs be organized so that all the vessels of our fleet will be back in operation by the end of this year and that ocean fishing be expanded, with the use of coastal ships for this purpose.

After concluding his visits in the economic units, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu met, at the headquarters of the county party committee, with cadres from the party aktiv, with members of the leadership of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, of the "Danube Delta" Central, and other specialists. There was an analysis of the status of the execution of the program for the complete arrangement and utilization of the Danube Delta, adopted by the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. The director general of the "Danube Delta" Central, Marin Nitu, reported that, on the basis of the provisions and instructions of the secretary general of the party, the areas intended for agriculture are being arranged and he presented the good results achieved in the fields of fish-breeding, silviculture, and reed-growing, and the actions taken to develop tourism in the Delta, to develop water transport and for the general systematization of the area.

#### Visits Calarasi, Ialomita Counties

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Sep 83 pp 1, 3

[Working Visits of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to Calarasi and Ialomita Counties]

[Excerpts] On 1 September, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party, president of the Republic, made a working visit to some agricultural research and production units in Calarasi and Ialomita counties. The presidential helicopter landed in the grounds of the Fundulea Research Institute for Grains and Technical Crops. The secretary general of the party and the president of the Republic was greeted by Dumitru Bejan, first secretary of the Calarasi party committee and by Cristian Hera, director of the Fundulea Research Institute for Grains and Technical Crops. The following were also present: Comrades Ion Dinca, Nicolae Giosan, Gheorghe Stoica, Ion Tesu, minister of agriculture and the food industry, Tiberiu Muresan, president of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences.

The secretary general of the party analyzed the results of the research and tests carried out by the collective of the institute for the purpose of the intensive utilization of the land by the extension of second crops in the agricultural zones of the country. Comrade Ceausescu analyzed, in the fields, the many areas of land sown to crops at the end of June, after the harvest of barley for seed and fodder. Examining the sunflower crop, the secretary general of the party directed that, on the basis of the results achieved in Fundulea, during the next agricultural year, successive sowings of this very valuable technical crop should be extended over large areas.

The soybean crop, also sown after the barley, is also developing well. Comrade Ceausescu directed that measures be taken so that, beginning next year, soybean growing should be extended to other agricultural zones of the country, not only the traditional soybean growing areas. Also, the researchers and builders of machinery should work together closely to find the most effective solutions for harvesting soybeans without losses.

The secretary general of the party gave careful attention to intensive corn cultivation, which is expected to yield 20,000 kg per hectare. Researchers have experimented with the "Fundulea-420" hybrid, grown in different variations of density and distance between rows. The researchers have shown that harvests of 20,000 kg of corn per hectare can currently be obtained by the proper fertilization of the land, the correct execution of maintenance work and the use of irrigation.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked the television industry to produce films dealing with the results obtained in the Fundulea Institute, for presentation in broadcasts aimed at the villages and in agricultural and animal husbandry courses, and asked the press to give wide publicity to actions for the extension of successive crops.

The next stop was the Agricultural Production Cooperative in Gurbanesti Commune, followed by a visit to the Dor Marunt Agricultural Production Cooperative. During his visit to the Cazanesti complex of the combine for the production and industrialization of pork in Ialomita, Ceausescu was greeted by the first secretary of the Ialomita County committee of the Romanian Communist Party, Gheorghe Tanase, upon his arrival in Cazanesti Commune, and by Ion Petre, minister of industrial construction; Ferdinand Nagy, minister state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry; Gheorghe Ciolanescu, deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry, head of the department for state agriculture, and Ion Draghici, director of the combine, when he arrived in the Cazanesti Complex. The last stop was at the Grindu Agricultural Production Cooperative.

CSO: 2700/300

## NEW VESSELS FOR NAVAL FORCES

Stuttgart MARINE-RUNDSCHAU in German Jul 83 pp 311-313

[Article by Siegfried Breyer]

[Text] The "Socialist Republic of Romania," despite its belonging to the communist ideological sphere, is not only going its own way politically, but also in the development of its armed forces, namely the "Marina Militara," the navy. This navy is still comprised of only a few units, exclusively surface vessels; there are no submarines. The core of this navy is three antisubmarine ships of the Poti class and five guided-missile fast patrol boats of the Osa-I class, all of them provided by the USSR, the last of them a good 12 years ago. Since that time, Romania has not received a single ship from "big brother." This can be attributed to a drifting apart of Romania from the USSR beginning in the mid-1960's and a turning toward the PRC. In the 1970's, Romania met its new construction needs through the licensed production of two Chinese ship classes; on the one hand, there was the production of hydrofoil torpedo fast patrol boats of the "huchwan" class (of which the PRC delivered three prototypes, and on the other hand, there were patrol boats of the "Shanghai-II" class. The Dobreta Shipyards in Turnu built 17 ships of the "Huchwan" class, while the shipyard in Mangalia delivered 19 patrol boats of the "Shanghai" class. For both classes, the first units seem to have been completed around 1973-1974. Deviating from the Chinese prototypes, they show slightly modified details and also other (obviously Romanian) gun models.

It is clear that these two classes alone could not be enough for the Romanian Navy but that additional needs had to arise. Since Soviet ship deliveries were also absent in the 1970's (and still are) and the PRC, for unknown reasons, was probably not in a position to contribute to meeting these additional requirements, one had to attempt to meet these needs with one's own resources. As for production, there probably were no difficulties, for Romania has quite efficient shipbuilding centers. Regarding the design and construction of warships, it may be that relevant experience were gained from the above-mentioned licenses production. Whatever the case, the latest editions of the international fleet handbooks<sup>1</sup> for the first time referred to some new ship types, all of which were built in Romania and were probably also designed and completely constructed there. Involved are 8 to 10 torpedo fast patrol boats on the one hand and one each of a mine-countermeasures support ship and a combat boat-logistics floating depot on the other.

The new torpedo fast patrol boats belong to the "Epitrop" class (NATO code designation) and are supposed to have been in service since 1980. There are as yet no photographs of them so that one must make do with the scant numerical data that is available, the most comprehensive data being in "Combat Fleets of the World 1982-1983," although with express reservations. Accordingly, it is assumed that it involves units whose dimensions and propulsion plant put them approximately equal with the Soviet "Osa" class. Their full load displacement is given at 200 tons and their dimensions, in meters, are 39.0 x 7.7 x 1.8. Registered as propulsion plant are three Soviet M 503A diesel engines, whose power output is taken to be 12,000 horsepower (8,830 kilowatts). The speed is estimated at 36 knots. By way of armament, 2x2 30-mm antiaircraft guns and four 533-m torpedo tubes are indicated; it thereby probably involves Soviet models.

The new construction, in service since 1980 and registered as "mine counter-measures support ship," is probably named "Cosar" and has received this name as its NATO code designation. For the first time, there is photographic material [not included here] of it, taken in the summer of 1982 by tourists in Constanta. Unfortunately, the only available viewing angle was not good. Nevertheless, these shots do show something. To begin with, one can see that a single gun is mounted on the forecastle; its caliber is estimated at 57 mm. The gun mount is not typically Soviet but may have been developed by the Romanians. Flanking this weapon and somewhat farther forward are two "RBU-2500's"--five-barreled groups for (unguided) 250-mm antisubmarine rockets. Astern there are probably just two 30-mm twin-barrel antiaircraft guns of the known Soviet construction type; these are positioned on platforms staggered on both sides of the superstructure deck. By way of electronics, there is a positively identified "strut curve" air surveillance radar on the mast, a "Don-2" navigation radar installed a little lower and a "drum tilt" weapon control apparatus mounted on a pedestal behind the funnel. An additional apparatus is hidden under a tarpaulin on the bridge; this is most likely a "muff cob" apparatus, known to be assigned to Soviet 57-mm antiaircraft weapons as a guidance apparatus. This ship is listed in "Combat Fleets" at 1,500 tons (displacement type not given), and its length is estimated at 80 meters. It is probably as good as certain that it has engine drive. The armament data (2 x 2 30-mm antiaircraft guns) found in this handbook are incomplete to the extent that neither the 57-mm antiaircraft guns nor the antisubmarine rocket launchers are considered. The presence of such antisubmarine rocket launchers makes certain multiple-function characteristics probable. In addition to its designation as a mine countermeasures support ship, the ship could also be used for security tasks (antisubmarine and antiaircraft defense), as a tender, command ship and possibly even as a minelayer. The sketch that resulted from the photographs (shown here) should be viewed with the proper reservations, for they could be made from forward viewing angles only.

The equipping with Soviet weapons models and electronics systems permits one to suppose that the Soviet restrictions previously assumed for Romania have now been relaxed somewhat. This is indicated, among other things, by the delivery of M-503-A diesel engines for the new fast patrol boats.

Another new construction, in service since 1980 and having the NATO code designation "Croitor," is using pennant number 281, according to "Combat Fleets." Unfortunately, there is no photographic evidence of this ship. According to this source, this ship, with a full load displacement of 3,500 tons and a length of 110 meters, is a somewhat smaller version of the Soviets tenders of the "Don" type. It has a long bow with articulated ribs and a sharp, sickle-shaped stem. Under the deck, forward of the bridge superstructures, are the magazines for missiles and torpedos, which are served by a deck crane. Astern, there is supposedly a Helo-platform with a hangar. The weapons are reported to be a 1 x 2 57-mm antiaircraft guns and 2 x 2 14.5-mm antiaircraft machine guns. The ship is said to sail with an engine system operating on two shafts.

Finally, "Combat Fleets" also points to the existence of a quasi sister ship of the "Cosar." Its name is given as "Grigore Antipa" and its function as AGOR, that is, oceanographic research ship. This ship is likewise said to have been commissioned as early as 1980.

In conclusion, still another comment may be allowed that may evoke certain nostalgic moments in some quarters. It involves four former German units of the type M-boat 40, the origin of which is subject to contradictory statements. These vessels have the names (pennant numbers) "Democratia" (13), "Descatusaria" (14), "Desrobierea" (15) and "Dreptatea" (16). "Combat Fleets" and "Weyers Flottentaschenbuch" give Galatz as the place of construction. Today, however, it is certain that the Germans never even started construction of such minesweepers there. On the contrary, they involve units from material captured by the USSR after the war, which, by the way, is also confirmed by authentic Romanian sources.<sup>2</sup> Regarding these four units, the latest editions of "Combat Fleets" and "Janes Fighting Ships" reported that they had been modernized and that in the process they received an engine propulsion plant in exchange for the original propelling machinery--two standing three-cylinder triple-action expansion machines with switched-on exhaust turbines--in addition, their outward appearance is said to have been changed drastically through new superstructures. In the three photos shown here [omitted], several of these units can be seen in their current condition. It is thereby clear that they have received new bridge superstructures, a lattice mast with radar and a funnel in up-to-date form. The old armament--at least on the forecastle--has been retained; a 37-mm twin-barrel antiaircraft gun L/63 of an earlier Soviet construction type can be seen there.

Based on the(se) photos, a new sketch was also made of this class; the same restrictions and reservations apply here as for that of the "Cosar" class, since the viewing angle is the same and the ships are partially blocked from view. The modernization of these units, a good 40 years old, makes one thing seem clear: namely, that in no way can they be done away with and replaced with new ships, either because of a lack of money or because "big brother" in Moscow is not willing to help out the Romanian Navy through ship deliveries, possibly not so much because of Romania's political idiosyncrasies but simply because Romania cannot pay the price demanded by Moscow.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Jane's Fighting Ships 1982-83." London 1982, page 375 and following pages; "Flottes de Combat 1982," Paris 1981, page 593 and following pages; "Combat Fleets of the World 1982-1983," Annapolis 1982, page 457 and following pages.
2. Cornel L. Scares, "100 Years of the Romanian Navy" in MARINE-RUNDSCHAU 1977, page 493 and following pages.

9746

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BERISAVLJEVIC DISCUSSES LCY UNITY, NATIONALISM, OTHER PROBLEMS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Aug 83 pp 9-13

[Interview with Zivan Berisavljevic, member of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, by Jandranko Sinkovic: "We Are Giving Nationalisms Too Much Encouragement"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Zivan Berisavljevic, member of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, in an interview with our reporter a few days ago answered a number of questions with which the editors of the weekly DANAS are continuing the series of frank political analyses at a moment when this type of discussion is demonstrating a very rich diversity. The emphasis in this interview was put on the ideological and culturological dimensions of some of our significant political situations. On this occasion we are presenting extensive fragments from that interview, and in the next issue we will publish other interesting highlights from a lengthy conversation.

[Question] How do you assess the ever stronger and more intensive rise of nationalism in all parts of our country? In that connection, although we know relatively well where the roots of nationalism lie, the field of culture, precisely of late, when the conditions for conduct of economic activity have been more difficult, has undoubtedly emerged as the meeting point of the political-ideological struggles and showdowns. How do you interpret this?

[Answer] I think that it is a correct assessment that we are in the middle of a period in which the rise of nationalism throughout almost our entire country is one of the features. For the League of Communists, however, it is extremely important that we reach consensus on that assessment. After all, to believe that that is not so because we have variations of those tendencies at a given moment because a particular community is structured this way or that way, or that there is this or that specific feature in the intensity or nature of this phenomenon, I think is not a good thing. Attempts of that kind are the basis of the arguments of those who at every point divide nationalisms into those which are less dangerous and those which are more dangerous, and then even, believe it or not, they regard the nationalism and chauvinism of their respective nationality as less dangerous. Incidentally, the goals of the LCY and the interests of the working class as a whole, that is--the point of our overall Yugoslav struggle for socialism--are always under attack, and not always in the extremity, regardless of "which" or "whose" nationalism it is or at what point they are threatened at a particular moment.

[Question] Has that consensus not been achieved?

[Answer] I think that the League of Communists as the organized expression of ideological and political consciousness has come quite close to what I might call the degree of full unity in that assessment. However, just as it is not good for this assessment to be adopted as something imposed, I also do not think it is good for it to be offered as an expression of panic. That is, we in Yugoslavia should be much calmer in proceeding from some of our determinations, from the historical givens, from what I would call almost theoretical truths in our context, when it is a question of such a multinational and otherwise complicated country like ours. So long as there are nationalities in this region, nationalism will exist as a form of consciousness intolerant and aggressive toward other nationalities within the framework of this or that nationality, as will separatism or unitarism as a selfish interpretation of the interests of one's own respective nationality. We have to take this for granted and at the same time nourish the sentiment of Yugoslavism in the form of Yugoslav socialist patriotism, we must constantly develop cohesion as the constructive expression of the destiny that binds our nationalities to one another and of their urgent need for daily and broad communication.

#### Authoritarianism

In any case, there is a phrase in your question which I do not like. Yes, I think that we do know quite well where the roots of nationalism lie, although some among us say differently. Probably not a single communist party in the world has devoted as much attention as ours throughout its history to clarifying the theoretical, sociological, historical and other roots of nationalism. And they, some of our present-day "ideologues" who have just sprung up and want to constantly make a new search for the roots of nationalism, saying that we do not know them, are actually committing a kind of injustice toward that entire ideological legacy and political achievements of the League of Communists. Often in that quasi-need "to search for the roots" actually contains a maximum of disguised opportunism with respect to the need for a practical struggle against it, since it is difficult to believe that ignorance is in question.

[Question] One also hears the opinion in that connection that "we have left the roots and have not entirely cleared the land of the enemy." How do you interpret this rather militant and I would say purgative demand, without a trace of the "calm" you are calling for?

[Answer] All such statements, which assume "complete eradication," and all such approaches with many overstrong words about "finality" I think belong to a kind of political mentality which I would not focus attention on in this interview. That is, if it is not a question of poverty of thought, of an absence of understanding, of the process and pattern of our history, then it is a question of a kind of authoritarian attitude toward social processes which equates the negative tendencies with those who exemplify them, and then also the struggle against them in order to eradicate them, equates it with "cramming the representatives into a mouse hole." I personally think that in the political processes of the present moment and indeed our present period we should

be more decisive in attacking both the tendencies and their rabid "promoters," but without the illusion, yet another illusion, that we will be doing something "to the end," since this then lulls us to sleep, so that we are constantly experiencing alternative periods of a panic struggle against some enemy, which are then followed by periods of a relaxation that is not permissible for the historical complexity in which we as a revolutionary movement are carrying on the struggle for our own road to socialism.

[Question] And how about the "unambiguous emergence of nationalism in culture"?

[Answer] I think we should point to the truth that as a rule this is by nature a phenomenon that falls outside culture. These are actually eminently political problems of our society which are only manifested in public form through our media and so-called cultural tribunes and institutions. And it is logical that it should be so, since the intelligentsia which those institutions bring together are the most sensitive expression of what is taking place in the cauldron of the heart of society. It is a question, then, of the pronounced political-ideological issues of society which are manifested in a manner and in forms which are then attributed to culture in the institutional sense. But these are not specifically cultural or culturological issues. Look at the most striking examples: what we disputed in connection with certain tendencies in, say, theater life, in criticism, certain tendencies in literary life--was not esthetic in nature, but explicitly political, merely "camouflaged" in that it was expressed in a particular artistic form, appeared in one review or another, or was sponsored by one or another cultural institution.

#### Elitist Pride

If as an intellectual who belongs to a political movement you fight against nationalism and anticommunism out of your own conviction, then presumably you are not fighting because this manifests itself in a form of the theater, but because you are opposed to such ideas and their overall and urgent implications. And conversely, you also fight for your ideas through the form of the theater, for instance. Here we are in an area, then, of an unquestionably political rather than artistic act, not uncommonly precisely because of the artistically suspect.

This is an important distinction, since it does not permit that kind of guild arrogance, elitist pride, which holds that in our country both under the law and by the moral code there are supposed to be political ideas and political provocations which cannot be expressed in the coffeehouse, but which (according to some people) can be expressed "in the form" of poetry, under the shield of the theater, literature, and so on. Once a creative act is made to serve political goals directly, it inevitably rushes into the flows of political processes, "games" and the rules which apply there, and there no artistic form is objectively an excuse for defining a political attitude toward the idea which it contains. I personally asserted long ago that the League of Communists must constantly advocate that our society be a society of authentic artistic freedoms, but such a society must be conscious that there is no

problematical creative commitment in any field of creativity without its sometimes becoming objectively problematical--precisely because of the passionate creative need to delve to the nature of things. But when by its nature what is problematical is not also a search for new essences, but a retrograde abuse of the creative form to communicate in public reactionary and compromised political provocations, then we are no longer in the domain of creativity, but in the domain of whatever its essence and motivation are. Incidentally, I do not understand certain of our garrulous and great "freedom-lovers of our times" who believed for a long time that art could sing revolution, but who now, in spite of quite a few examples, actually reject the idea that the poetic form can be put at the service of the counterrevolution. It is true that conflicts over this are always degrading. But that is indeed the political aim of those who plant those conflicts in a refined way, dressed in the toga of the "creative."

There are some other problems in this connection. There has been conscious encouragement of creators and of their clans in certain communities in the direction of certain ideas.

[Question] To put it more precisely, who is encouraging whom?

[Answer] There is quite a bit of encouragement even of nationalism, but also of our other "isms." For example, in coquetry with certain quasi-leftwing liberalistic groupings and journals, which objectively are relevant under our conditions insofar as they constitute a prattling preface for the manifestation of nationalistic and other anticommunist ideas. That is, they advocate "freedom" for all tendencies and forces, i.e., partnership with the League of Communists, but that objectively favors oppositionist groupings which are in social terms far more relevant, such as today, for example, the nationalistic or dogmatic-bureaucratic right.

#### Clans

This is greatly favored by the clannish structure of certain of our fields of artistic creativity and of public life in general, especially in the press. Clans are always informal, but highly organized groups which have their own particular interests (guild, career, ideological and material) which they then fight for with all available means, so that even for that reason they must conflict with the policy of the LCY and society. In the corresponding political situation certain political ideas which are not in line with the program and policy of the LCY become hot property for the moment, sometimes even supported by politically influential individuals and groups, the clans easily join in this (since they need such individuals and groups in politics just as the latter need clans) and they take up those ideas as a platform and as their political "credo." We have even now convincing examples of how certain long-established clans in certain fields of creative practice in actuality easily switch to an outright nationalistic platform, of how the loud and great "freedom-lovers" become advocates of the nationalistic right and of torture of all in the name of that program. And thus they create a position in society, as well as in that creative field which they "control," which they could never create for themselves in the conception of a purely cultural policy. I think

that there was sufficient experience of this from the time of the mass movement in Croatia as well as in the escalation of nationalism in Kosovo over several years and in the revival of Serbian nationalism, in the recent past particularly, but earlier as well.

Were a man able to make an analysis (but there is no need to do so because of the elementary constitutional rights of individuals) of the giro accounts of certain of our eminent nationalists, it would become clear that nationalism actually "pays" quite well. For at a given moment some people, through their "talented" nationalistic commitment, turn into very-well-paid and indispensable "authorities" on the subject. They have not been given any formal mandate by anyone, but--as people with the particular confidence of the heads of their clan--a position is created for them so that they can informally, "off the street," but without objection, decide about what will and what will not be published, how a particular artistic work will be treated in public, which public figures shall be "promoted," and in what way, or sullied, what will be said about a particular phenomenon in which of the media; they have "blank" space reserved in advance in the largest papers for what they will say the previous evening on TV, they edit the publishing houses, and they try to control or break up competitions and festivals at the Yugoslav level. Then villas are purchased in the luxurious parts of the capital, while in public they play on the martyr's trump card of "righteous men who have been proscribed," then they are at the same time an editor in several publishing houses, a member of many forums and prestigious cultural institutions, then they sign their name at the end of virtually every scientific project in a given field, since the project "cannot make its way" if it does not have the imprimatur of one of the representatives of the clan, the right criticism simultaneously for several newspapers, for TV and radio, and so on. The clans are a kind of Mafia in culture, relying on those powerful figures in public institutions whose views, ambitions and interests are too ideologically and practically cramped for the League of Communists and its policy, but who do need them, at least for tactical purposes.

[Question] As for nationalism, what is the situation in Vojvodina? From time to time one hears something about Hungarian nationalism, but about the others as well.

The "Rally Around" Thesis

[Answer] Nationalisms do not have republic and provincial borders, regardless of the content or type of manifestation from those in coffeehouses to those obvious ones in certain fields of creativity. Incidentally, it is here that certain plays which have been unambiguously evaluated to be nationalistic and anticommunist ("Pigeon Pit," for example) have been put on the repertoire, it is here that certain journals have appeared, so that we in Vojvodina are also feeling nationalistic pressures. Of course, they take different forms here, there is a different tension, and they adapt to the objective and political circumstances. For example, although the practical manifestation of Serbian nationalism here with us takes a somewhat more muffled form in view of the determined fight against it as soon as it appeared, still Serbian nationalism in Vojvodina has basically all those characteristics which it has in other places:

from what I might call that which tends toward the integralism of the state "in the name of the unified ethnic culture," by way of nationalism of the unitaristic-centralistic type, to claims of "special rights" of the Serbs here in Vojvodina, since "we Serbs are the majority here," and so on. The strength of Serbian and Croatian nationalism in Vojvodina, incidentally, is greatly influenced by how aggressive they are in the country as a whole, how resolutely, consistently and persistently the drive against them is conducted in other centers, what and in what manner they are written about by the Vojvodina press and what the press has to say from other centers, which is much read in our province, which in and of itself is as natural as it is a good thing.

In the case of Hungarian nationalism we have other manifestational forms which, as far as I have been able to note, are characteristic of the rise of Hungarian nationalism in general. It is on the rise in our province, above all in the increasingly frequent manifestations of the platform "Hungarians, Rally Round," as well as in the form of an attempt to encapsulize Hungarian cultural and public institutions within their own Hungarian circle, along with evident attempts to link up with related institutions in Hungary. There have also been certain signs of some revival of nationalism of an irredentist nature. I think that they, objectively encouraged by nationalistic forces, above all those in Hungary itself, even though the policy of the Hungarian government and of the Hungarian Labor Party in this respect, both as government policy and as the policy of the leadership, have been faithful to principle and consistent with the documents adopted on a reciprocal basis. Nationalisms by the very logic of the thing have been encouraged at the heart of almost all our nationalities by the hegemonistic nationalistic claims in the heart of the Serbian people as a defensive form of minority nationalism.

[Question] And the case of the "Uj Symposium"?

[Answer] It seems to me that even in the case of the "Uj Symposium," which the public has been informed about, was an example of what is otherwise happening with us and about which I have already had something to say: that an anarchoid, false-leftwing interpretation of what is happening in society objectively turns into advocacy of "freedoms" of the type which are actually a pretext for a hesitant attitude of the LC toward cases of feting and glorifying some particular nationalistic trend. In and of itself the New Left intellectual factions are not any great "force" even here, but they attempt to create a climate in which they try to place the LC and socialist forces in an inferior position, which is to say that they behave here in Vojvodina as they do throughout our society.

[Question] As always in periods of exacerbated ideological struggle, in periods of serious economic troubles, it seems that unitarism behind various masks also goes on the offensive along with nationalism. As though even in this time of centralized administrative decisionmaking in society's business community and economy, hegemonistic nationalistic centralism manifests itself in the ideological sphere as something which could pull us out of the state of crisis.

[Answer] First let me briefly comment on the second part of your question. In the situation of the moment I would not be so "definitive" in defining the connection between the series of administrative economic measures which have been recently adopted for the entire country and "manifestations of hegemonistic nationalistic centralism" in which--according to you--some people believe as a "magic wand that can solve everything" and take us out of the crisis. I would not do so for the simple reason that I feel that things are far more complicated when we look at all these things.

#### Attacks on the Constitution

First of all, it is important to know that we are adopting all the measures of our current policy through the procedure which follows from the constitution of the kind of federation which we have. That means with the full participation of all the delegations of our assembly and along with the full decision-making by all in all phases of the decisionmaking process. I personally think that those measures are more something imposed in the absence of lasting solutions to the problems which our crisis trends have been throwing up to us with greater intensity day after day and when the present solutions, which we thought to "embody the system," are obviously "not working." (Take, for example, only what has been drastically happening to us in the field of foreign relations, in the monetary area, and so on.) Those measures, then, are not an expression of a revived faith in the statist-centralistic formula, and particularly not the unitaristic formula, but are an expression of necessity and are obviously temporary.

Yet you are right when you note that the escalation of even the unitaristic outlook in our society is becoming rather obvious and that it is not only playing the coquette with a certain nationalism, but is also one of the forms it takes. This is that outlook which sees the original source of all our sins and shortcomings to lie not in the inconsistently or inadequately implemented principles of the constitution as the foundations of self-governing and federal Yugoslavia, but precisely in those principles and in the logic of that constitution. Its advocates are today loud critics not of statism and bureaucracy at all levels, but of the high degree of independence of OUR's [organizations of associated labor], of the communes, and especially of the republics and provinces. As a matter of fact they regard their very existence as a source of disintegration of the unified market, the reason for the total disunity, including disunity in the LCY, the source of disintegration of Serbia and the reason why the Serbian people does not have equal rights in Yugoslavia, and so on. I think that our more lasting measures in the direction of economic stabilization, derive from what we adopted in the Basic Premises ... and other documents at the 12th LCY Congress and in their later elaborations, will take a certain strength away from that criticism.

In any case, it follows from what I have already said that I do not think that unitarism exists "along with nationalism." Unitarism, as indeed historical experience demonstrates, is the governmental expression of the nationalism of the majority nationalities and their alliances with nationalistic elites of the other smaller nationalities which live in a multinational government community. As a conception and program for solving the nationality question it



is evidence of the flagrant failure to understand the historic essence of the multinational state, that is, a failure to understand the simple truth that nowhere in the world is there even the smallest and encircled ethnic entity which would by its own volition accept to live under the domination of the "elite" of this or that majority nationality, that is--evidence that no one consents to the role of a subtenant, nor even cotenant, in his own country. It is also an amazing form of failure to understand the nationality question of one's own respective nationality, i.e., a failure to accept the clear truth that in historical terms a conception of Yugoslavia can only be faithful to one's own nationality if in the name of the need to solve the nationality question of one's own nationality, parts of which live mixed with the other nationalities, does not at the same time accept that the nationality question of each of those nationalities and of all those in the community of nationalities and ethnic minorities living on the territory of one government entity, which is therefore inevitably federal, must be resolved to the same degree, i.e., on the foundation of equality and the voluntary principle.

#### Failures To Find the Bearings

If the catastrophe of Versailles Yugoslavia was a bloody and dearly paid lesson for failing to understand this, then establishment of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia is a confirmation of the correctness of the policy of the CPY and of Tito, one which we have consistently followed up to now, just as it is the most profound confirmation that it is the destiny of our nationalities and their resolute determination to live together, but--in the manner they agreed on at that time.

Now we see that among the other nationalisms its unitaristic version is again reviving. But recently it has been playing the coquette with God and the devil, seeking a way, supposedly "in the name of the majority nationality," to impose itself somehow on the community of equal nationalities and ethnic minorities such as we have today fortunately achieved. It is seeking the right to "represent all the nationalities," "for its national republic," which means it also wants to be the "defender of national rights," of "national culture" in other parts of Yugoslavia, and when it does not get that--it seizes upon other manifestations of a "pan-national" character--from the church by way of history to language. The republic borders with neighbors are proclaimed to be the borders of the nationality rather than the borders of the state of Yugoslavia, and so on. The corresponding behavior of the press has greatly contributed to the strengthening and aggressive emergence of this type of nationalism, and the clans have brilliantly played that role which I spoke to you about earlier. The lack of resistance, tardiness in exposing this, and the failure of the LC at certain points to get its bearings have favored this to a considerable degree. So it is no wonder that from time to time it has seemed that this unitaristic-bureaucratic nationalism is in many respects displaying the characteristics of what distinguished the atmosphere in the time of the "mass movement," and it is a pity that we do not altogether detect this in a bit more timely fashion.

In any case, there is no nationalism of any type, including its unitaristic version, which I regard to be the characteristic or fault of any particular



nationality, but they are rather characteristic of nationalistic forces and of their allies which at some particular point are attempting to impose upon that nationality their own interpretation of "national interests." Incidentally, I think that all forms of nationalism feel the love of the shyster or usurer toward their own nationality: they collect a high price from the nationality which they are trying to keep benighted so that it can serve them better. They are always interested in setting up a state, since they count on official power. They are pan-national, since they like to have more subjects. They are oppressive toward the smaller ethnic groups on "their own" territory, and separatistic toward entities over which they do not manage to extend their own hegemony. I am deeply convinced that that is why nationalistic interpretations of the national interest represent a direct road into a historical blind alley. If there is a little less opportunism in the League of Communists, as a number of constructive examples of combating it have today demonstrated, nationalism can easily be displaced as an ideology from the scene of public life through democratic struggle. But one has to desire this and be able to do it properly, and it has to be done through the unity of all the antinationalistic forces in Yugoslavia, and above all within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

[Question] The League of Communists in one of the recent plenums of the Central Committee noted the neglect of the political-ideological front and announced its own offensive. It seems, however, that its drive has still not been effective, that the LCY is not united in its action, that the great intellectual potential of the party is not yet sufficiently vigorous. Do you agree with that assessment?

[Answer] That assessment has in a way been confirmed in the plenum of the LCY Central Committee, when it recently discussed these matters. Nevertheless, I think that for too long a time we have failed to find our bearings in approaches when it comes to the need to strengthen the League of Communists as a "collective intellectual," as a unified political-ideological activist, especially in the domain of ideas, without which it cannot be successful in a democratic way or in general in a way that suits the role it is given.

The LC as the "Total Mind"

Yet there are also other questions to which all of us together need to find answers. First, we have to clearly answer the question What in general is the LC in the domain of ideas? Are we talking about its platform and system of values in some sort of "combined action" directed by supreme command headquarters (uvešebno)? Or is it above all current policy, moves and activities of its leaders and leadership bodies, which, of course, do not have a mandate to do that, and accordingly they do not do so as bureaucrats, as some of us not uncommonly would like to have it in our tendentious oversimplification and exaggeration? Or is it the total mind brought together in and around the LC and articulated on the foundations of its platform, i.e.--its principles and values, in operational combined action to have an impact on events and in the struggle to articulate and shape events in accordance with that policy which they advocate as the LC. It seems to me that the LC ought to be precisely for this latter, especially in the domain of ideas. But we are not succeeding at

all in getting this done in a satisfactory way. In the ranks of the LC there are many people who do not understand this and many misunderstandings concerning it, from waiting until the leadership offers the initiative even when it is evident that something that is happening is not only not in line with the interests and goals of the LC, but is often aimed at discrediting it, to the situation where we have serious differences in views not only of current events, but also of a number of questions of principle because of the lack of an effective coordinating and operational action of the LC throughout Yugoslavia as a whole. The task of the leadership bodies of the LC, instead of exposing themselves directly, sometimes in the individual involvement of their ideologues patented "to represent the LC," or instead of their turning into "forum fortresses" from whose "loopholes" this or that inappropriate or mistaken head or thought is then shot down--the task of those leadership bodies ought to be to ensure full combined action of party members in the particular domains of creativity at particular moments of sociopolitical development, such as the one we are in today, for example. It is a prerequisite of that unity that we clarify ourselves about the basic approaches and solutions and that we have the talent and sense to give those approaches practical form. Incidentally, this is a prerequisite for democratic and unified ideological action of the League of Communists at any moment.

There are some other preconditions. That is, in my opinion we need to conduct a very serious discussion in our practical agreements of what we actually represent as communist leaders, as communists with a mandate, and also as party members in general: Is it in general a good thing, in the entire context of our political effort, for us to be worth more as men from Vojvodina, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnians, and so on, in the party than as party members in Vojvodina, Slovenia, Croatia or Bosnia-Herzegovina? Of course, that also applies to others. To be sure, in saying this I am not advocating any sort of "national" communism. But today especially we must ensure through the unity of our action campaigns which are consistent in communist terms to achieve solutions which have a communist content and for communist content in the direction that development takes in every community and at every moment.

[Question] Why has that come about? It is often said that the kind of bureaucratization of the minds of the members and leadership bodies of the LC is at fault for this.

[Answer] This problem is related to the gradual predominance of all sorts of pragmatism, from localistic and republic-provincial egoism to careerism based on knowing the criteria derived from that egoism.

### The Absence of Dialogue

Today we have to elaborate much more fully what is the function of every center, of every party leadership, from the leadership in the basic organization and the opstina to the LCY Central Committee, in guaranteeing linkage, articulation, ideological unity and operational combined action in the struggle for certain constructive programs above all, and, of course, also in confronting what in our country has already taken shape as this or that tendency, and it is quite certain that in organizational terms it will often be better linked up than we are.

[Question] There is concern that a large number of scientists are presenting in the press and from public speaking platforms, and indeed even in forums, views, assessments and proposals which, it is thought by some, call into question the fundamental and strategic commitments of society. At the same time, according to the echoes in the news media, one cannot say that the critical reactions of the working people and citizens are rejecting the strategy of the LC....

[Answer] It seems to me that it is going a bit too far to speak of such a large number of scientists who--as economists, sociologists, political scientists, and so on--are coming down so hard on our state of affairs as critics that in practical terms they are calling into question the fundamental commitments of our society. The phenomenon does exist, to be sure, but we have no reasons to exaggerate it, to describe the situation with such severity. I think that we are dealing here with recrudescences of the absence of a worthwhile, authoritative and permanent dialogue between the leading political forces in our society and the broad circles of the creative intelligentsia committed to socialism. And all of us together, in our own respective ways, are equally responsible and historically "competent," as it is put in bureaucratic language, for what is happening and what will happen, for what we will advocate, for what we will fight and for what we are fighting against. In the absence of that dialogue, in certain ideological domains there has been a certain separation in which people, although communists with a great familiarity with things, are beginning to behave like what we might call professionally competent "mavericks," whose basic orientation, to be sure, is socialism and communism in Yugoslavia, but who do not think it to be their obligation to follow that policy of the LC in whose conceptualization they were not involved at all or were not involved sufficiently or effectively. In that criticism, not uncommonly even when in real terms it is unacceptable, there is quite a bit of an honest effort to help their own society and their party to find better solutions and to overcome the problems more successfully, at present especially the problems in the economy, where they are in any case cardinal problems, and the confrontations over them are quite often dramatic. But there is also quite a bit of a partial, or indeed even scientifically alienated and scientific approach to social phenomena. I have the impression that there is too much scientific technocracy in the approach and phenomenological criticism, which too easily identifies the models of a system with its principles, but that is not the same thing.

There is a need, however, for us to reflect much more realistically about our fundamental commitments. Self-management is not a socioeconomic relation that is given, nor consequently is it a sociopolitical relation that is given, nor indeed an ethical relation or a humanistic relation or content or way of life. This is still a goal that has been set, and for a long time the system of values will be given for which we must seriously continue the fight if the basic social relation is to begin to reproduce itself. Following this line, the role of the LC is revolutionary even today, in spite of the fact that it is being performed under the conditions of the longest peacetime period known to the recent history of our people. Which in fact accounts for this stumbling and all this searching. The scientists, in my opinion, should also enter into those problems, especially in public, also as communists in science, and not

as scientists who happen also to be in the party. And that means in science, as a party member, I should use all my talent and knowledge to fight for those goals and to perform those tasks which my party has as its own. In that case the League of Communists ought not to be bothered by even the most severe criticism, if it represents scientifically founded commitment in the struggle for the goals of the League of Communists. I am incidentally bothered much more by that seemingly "allied," devoted and obedient criticism, which is de facto against those goals, because of their insincerity if for no other reason.

7045

CSO: 2800/457

USEFULNESS OF FEMALES ENTERING ARMED SERVICES QUESTIONED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1698, 17 Jul 83  
pp 20-21

[Article by Slobodanka Ast: "Eve As Adam"]

[Text] Although "female soldiering" is in the voluntary and experimental phase until 1985, it is already obvious that this is a difficult equation with many unknowns.

Pretty, skillful and agile, they donned soldiers' uniforms the first week in July. The very last male bastion fell. The press, choked with enthusiasm, is reporting that the last inch of territory that traditionally belonged to the male part of humanity has been conquered.

Eyewitnesses tell that in some Serbian towns the girl recruits were seen off to the army with music, song and general merrymaking as if "cost was no object." That was the crescendo of the finale of several months of reporting on how girls were registering for the military on a massive scale. One high-circulation newspaper is predicting that after little songs like "I Am A Woman Of The 21st Century," a newly composed hit, "The Girls Gladly Go To Be Soldiers," will follow.

Idyllic pictures of this new evidence of women's emancipation arrive from day to day. Photojournalists have taken pictures of all types of uniforms for women (tres chic!), and it is already known that the girls will be able to wear makeup when not in training. It has been made public that the girl soldiers will have dressers, kitchenettes and hot water in the barracks. They can bathe whenever they want....

While some males frown on all these innovations (all that luxury in the barracks shows that we are not equal), jokes about the first women soldiers have even become a part of our folklore. However, even the girl recruits are critical. They say that the recruiting criteria were more strict for them than for males. On the territory of Belgrade, for example, about 80 girls registered for the military but this number noticeably melted away after recruiting. All in all, after all the examinations and commissions, only one-tenth of several thousand girls was called to military service. Azira Osmani (19), a lucky girl who was assigned to the medical corps, says that many girls were rejected as "unfit," the main reasons being overweight or illness.

Many of the girls who were rejected cried and some even fell down unconscious, reports OMLADINSKE.

### Limited Scope

Although "female soldiering" is still in the experimental and voluntary phase, it seems to us that those voices are correct that warn it is necessary to emphasize the limited scope of this newest legal evidence of equal rights. The conquest of that last male bastion in fact signifies no essential change whatsoever in the position of women. Changes in the social division of labor are basic. And we know that we have not gone far in this area, just as we have not gone far in shifting the borders of primitive consciousness and ingrained tradition. As Comrade Kolontaj observed long ago: "Psychological reform depends absolutely on the deep transformation of our socioeconomic relations in the direction of communism." In this regard, let us acknowledge on this occasion, too, that we still have not made that great step forward.

Although the legal regulations were made more than 3 years ago, the impression is that there are still quite a few unknowns that probably will not be resolved even during this experiment.

It seems that one of the basic questions is what sort of practical effects this 3-month "soldiering," this training of women in all branches and sections of the armed forces (except in armor, paratrooper and scuba units), will have.

Some military experts feel that the effects achieved through practical military training of women actually will be minimized by the very fact that those women subject to military conscription will be carried in a "passive" card file or in one that is set aside. This is so because they will be exempt from military obligation in all cases when they have one or more children younger than 7 years old. In other words, a woman can be exempted from military obligation for a period even longer than 15 years and, according to the SIV [Federal Executive Council] regulation, they can be assigned to regular JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] units until their 35th birthday! This in fact means that women will not even have the opportunity to demonstrate the skills for which they were trained! Let us add that during this period a woman cannot be called to participate in a military exercise either; but combat readiness, goes the old military rule, is maintained through constant exercises.

Nor is it possible, it seems, to perceive completely all the mediocolegal entanglements which will be brought about by the departure of girls to the army (above all, pregnancy and all the possible complications which can arise).

There are more questions. To what extent do we do an injustice to the girls when they are rejected only because insufficient positions exist? What if women do not come forward in sufficient numbers? With regard to the current status of volunteering, it will be very difficult--practically impossible--to plan later capacities for the military training of women. Although difficult to predict, it is practically certain that uneven numbers of women recruits will come forward from different regions of the country, from

different circles. If military training becomes compulsory, will it contribute to the deepening of social, educational and demographic differences? It is probably not the most important matter, but neither should people neglect the fact that the training of women within the permanent composition of the JNA requires significant financial investments. Realists say; we have had an overabundance of unsuccessful, expensive investments.

It would be prudent to listen to those authorities who feel that it is perhaps more appropriate to once more reexamine and intensify, if necessary, the subject of All People's Defense in the schools. In elementary, secondary, higher and advanced schools female students study the subject of All People's Defense. This means they have the opportunity to acquire the proper military knowledge and skills in preparation for defense of the country.

The experts say that during normal school and while working (in health services, business, hotel industry, transportation and communications), the majority of women can be assigned directly to one of the organizations of ONO [All People's Defense], even to include the armed forces. This is so because the defense forces of the SFRJ do not comprise only units and institutions of the JNA. After all, the law on military obligation already regulates this area. Is it necessary to be reminded once more of the NOB [War of National Liberation] in which more than 100,000 women participated, 3,340 of whom received "First Fighter Certificates" and 91 female partisans were awarded the National Hero Medal? During the war, more than 2,000 women received the rank of officer for exceptional courage and military skill. Even today women are on active duty in the JNA. They perform many responsible duties in ranks ranging from junior officer to general. Roza Papo and Slava Blazevic have received the rank of major general of the medical corps.

#### Many Unknowns

Perhaps when this 3-year experiment is completed the experiences of some foreign armies should be kept in mind. To tell the truth, the problem is very complex and includes many unknowns which are specific to each country.

If the experiment were to yield positive results (and when our army undertakes something, the outcome is usually positive!), then no obstacles exist to making voluntary military service for women compulsory and equal in length to that of males "in order to exercise our constitutional rights." Many people, from layman to expert, believe this would, in fact, contribute to-- the inequality of women! The already burdened and busy woman and mother who is pulled in many directions at once would get one more serious obligation. Experts who estimate that the birthrate has fallen to the point of alarm are warning about the sort of undesired consequences that compulsory military service would have for women. Perhaps they are looking far ahead, too far ahead into the 21st century, but the female part of our goal-oriented generation, used to gathering points and cutting through various administrative labyrinths, is already preparing strategy for how to leap beyond "the army of 1985."

Maybe some people will say that we have seen off the first several hundred girls to the army in a totally inappropriate and unceremonious manner. It seems to us that there were many words about the good sides of the proposed innovations. It has been said that the women recruits' departure to the JNA will be monitored scientifically "on a long term basis, taking into account all medical aspects." Obviously this is not an equation with only one unknown. The scientific evaluation and appraisal of this 3-year experiment in female soldiering should be multidisciplinary.

12192

CSO: 2800/442



## CATHOLIC PRESS RESPONDS TO STIPE SUVAR

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 83 p 2

[Text] One greatly contributes to the peaceful life with public positions. We are concerned here with a lecture by Stipe Suvar, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Croatian Communists. The lecture was given on 7 July at a meeting of two commissions of the LCC's Central Committee, and the text is found in BORBA on 18 and 19 July. In the second installment we read among the rest:

"We are specifically confronted with the forceful manifestation of clerico-nationalism (...) A complete clerico-nationalist platform has been worked out in order for the church to play a role not only as the protector of religion and the faithful, but also as protector of the national interests of the Croatian nation and its culture, and as the interpreter of its history. (...) Not only are sermons being delivered which contain open political denunciations, but even flags and coats of arms are being displayed without socialist emblems. 'Lijepa naša domovino' is always sung, but never 'Hej Slaveni' with it. They sing songs with nationalist contents and also shout out hostile slogans. You have here the forms of gatherings--such as musical ensembles, outings, dances, forums, Catholic lay forums, a very extensive publishing operation, youth gatherings on various pilgrimages and trips..."

So much for Stipe Suvar. We wish that his talk would be more precise and clearer. Let us begin from the end of the cited words:

Musical ensembles are church assemblies. Outings are pilgrimages. Catholic lay forums are, finally, a contemporary conciliar method of informing the lay believer about church life and thought. It is a possible way to "secularize" the church, so that not only the clergy gets to speak in it. Church dances are not arranged anywhere, but there are parishes in which the priests think it makes no sense to forbid young believers, when they gather together for prayer or a religious lecture, to play ball or perhaps even to dance during the break.

Yes, each human gathering can be misused. Even a gathering for a mass or for church music. But then it is necessary to speak about the misuses of such gatherings, to cite specifically where and how they were misused. The expressions used seem to us to spark the suspicions of the authorities and the caution of the youth about every church gathering.

That which Suvar at the beginning of the citation says about the pretensions of the church to be the protector of national interests or the interpreter of history is apparently a small misunderstanding, but with possible dangerous results. The church is indeed obliged to serve people, families, the world--and every nation, especially the nation in which it lives. To serve, not to rule. To extend protection to the threatened, but not to undertake the paternalistic monopoly for a nation's fate and life. We cannot, finally, praise a Dobrila or a Strossmayer, and criticize today's bishops if they wish to direct our contemporary church to the service of the nation's culture and its every growth in and for freedom. But it is necessary to sincerely and calmly write about that. Why is it imprecise to speak about the alleged domestic texts of our church people, when there are places for conciliar documents which are known and accessible to every one, the most famous being the constitution, "Gaudium Et Spes"?

Finally, there is the talk about flags and coats of arms "without socialist emblems." Even here it would be better to acknowledge the facts and verify the significance of the expression. Who wished to follow the activities of our domestic church, especially of recent months by our countrymen outside of the homeland, could observe in many places the attempt to remove flags and other insignia of political groups from church gatherings. The church is not the monopoly of any government or of any type of politics, but is the region in which all the values of national culture dwell and develop. Therefore, it is customary that in churches and at church gatherings the emblems of national traditions are used, that is the colors which are the basis of the Croatian flag and coat of arms. But, these are not the flags or coats of arms of any present or former state or party; they are only emblems with the national colors. These signify the national heritage, independent of any policy. To forbid the use of these ornaments and emblems with these combinations of colors would be very strange and quite difficult to carry out. It would be necessary to ravage our Church as part of the homeland and of the world--inside and out.

As far as "Lijepa Nasa" is concerned, that is the sole song which the Church has for a very long time accepted as a prayer of thanksgiving for the gift of our Homeland, a prayer for the good of the Homeland and all who live within it. The Croatian hymn is differentiated from many other hymns in that there is no political exclusiveness in it, which does not call for revenge, which does not provoke the wrath of God or of people upon enemies, which is by content closest to the biblical psalms of thanksgiving. It would be difficult to find any other hymn with such characteristics. This song is sung in our churches as a prayer, and has been for a very long time. This is proved by old church hymnals. And only the church can decide what can and cannot be a prayer.

12217

CSO: 2800/443

## CATHOLIC PAPER REPORTS CHARGES AGAINST FRANCISCANS

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 83 p 3

[Text] By a 24 June 1983 verdict of the communal magistrate of the Duvno commune, Fra Ante Perkovic, the guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Duvno was condemned to 25 days' imprisonment. The verdict maintains that Fra Ante was guilty of organizing a religion class (religious instruction) during the period of 1981/82 and in 1983 in Eminovo Selo and Mokronoge--SO Duvno. He held the classes in Eminovo Selo without first obtaining permission of the authoritative organ of the SO Duvno and continued this forbidden activity even after being warned by the authorities, receiving 50 dinars per person attending the religion classes. Thus, by performing religious affairs outside the place determined for that, he violated Article 10 of the Law on the Proper Place of Religious Associations.

It can be discerned from the justification of this same verdict that Fra Ante held religion classes in the rooms of private houses which actually have been rented for this for years. Fra Ante defended himself by claiming he did not initiate but continued the previous practice and did not think that he had to obtain permission. The mentioned sum of money was really a rental fee paid by the student of his family, obviously believing that to be their obligation, that religious instruction is their affair. At the end of the justification, the magistrate, Stojan Susilovic, expressed the hope that Fra Ante "in the future will not do such things before obtaining the necessary permission." Such a formulation perhaps allows the hope that the friars of Duvno will receive the permission necessary for holding the cited religious instruction after they present the authorities with the proper petition. This concerns Catholic religious students, children and young people whose church is far away and for whom the holding of religious instruction in rented private rooms is the only way to perform their civil right to regular organized religious instruction (which, obviously, the law anticipates and this is why permission can be obtained!).

We have learned that the condemned monk, Fra Ante Perkovic, appealed the verdict, but that appeal was denied and he will begin his sentence Thursday, 28 July, in the prison in Mostar.

Fran Ante Basic, parish priest in Sujica, was also recently sentenced by a magistrate to 2 months in jail, but he is still free awaiting the decision of a higher court. We have learned that the reason for this sentence are some objects discovered and confiscated in the parish museum--some banners, wax candles and other items which contained the colors of the traditional Croatian flag and coat of arms.

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